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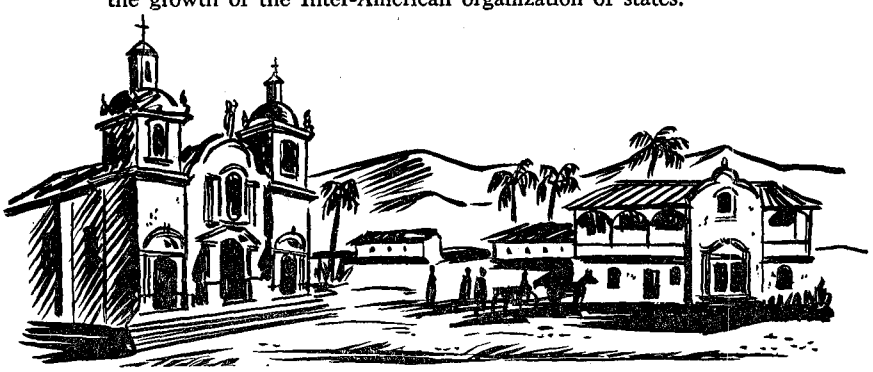
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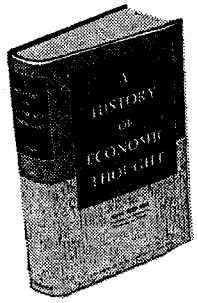
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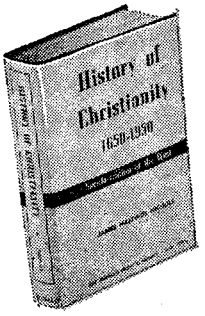
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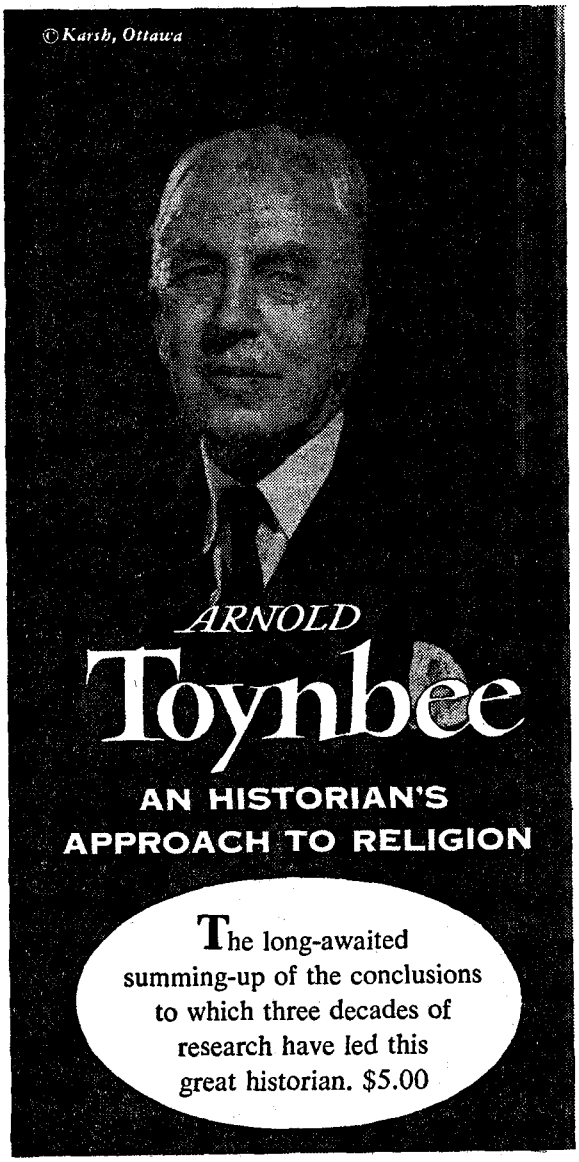
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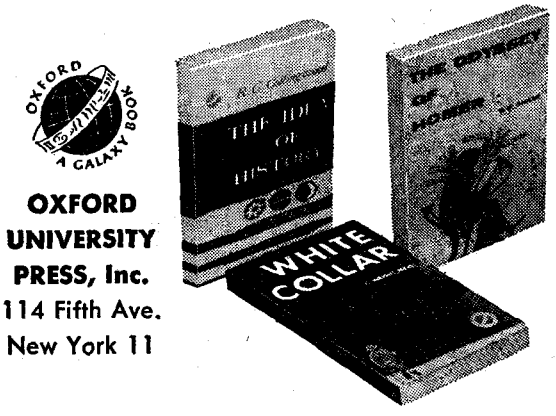
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*Vol. LXII, No. 1* *October, 1956*

# Carl Becker on History

## Professor Becker's Two Histories: A Skeptical Fallacy

PEREZ ZAGORIN

THE relation between history and philosophy is, on history's side at any rate, a perplexed and ambivalent one. Historians are commonly aware that, when one philosophy impugns their ability to obtain knowledge of the past, it is only another philosophy that can deliver them from the charge and vindicate their inquiry. Yet the aid thus called in or gratuitously offered has frequently been found by historians to be an embarrassment from which they were glad to disengage themselves. Seen from this point of view, the historian's thought about his work has the appearance of a series of efforts to emancipate himself from tasks undertaken or claims advanced in consequence of the beguilement which some reigning philosophical doctrine has for a time exercised upon him.

If we except the lonely and isolated Vico, it is only since about the end of the eighteenth century, in Kant, Herder, and Schiller, and then in the great speculative constructions of German romantic metaphysics, that phi-



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losophers have been disposed to accord historical inquiry a position of importance in the hierarchy of knowledge. And an important position it was: the historian was to be the enunciator of *das Weltgericht* and to disclose the course of Eternal Reason as it worked itself out in the doings of human societies. But such an undertaking, it was shortly realized, led to perverse and artificial schemes of interpretation and to unconscionable freedom in the treatment of evidence. And so, despite various gains which had accrued to historical inquiry conducted with these vast ends in view, historians eagerly disencumbered themselves of prerogatives they could not sustain and retreated to a more modest ground.

There followed then another encounter with philosophy, in the form, now, of positivism. The fascination of its doctrine proved more powerful and lasting, for it had both the prestige of natural science behind it and seemed to fall in with that respect for fact which historians regard as an indispensable assumption of their pursuit. Under the influence of positivism, historians were led into conceiving their inquiry as modeled on the natural sciences and as properly issuing, therefore, in laws. The program entailed by these notions has, however, also had to be abandoned. No historian who adopted it succeeded in formulating laws of historical development which his fellow scholars could accept or regard as strictly analogous to what are called laws in the natural sciences. The untenable distinction, moreover, which positivism made between facts and their interpretation reduced the historian's mind to a mere incident in the work of investigation, and this was soon seen to be a thoroughly false account of what takes place in historical inquiry.

With the exposure of the inadequacy of the dogmatic claims advanced by positivist historical thought, there set in among historians a skepticism such as not infrequently ensues in some minds when dogma has been expelled. If history is not a science in the sense of the natural sciences, if the terminus of inquiry is not the establishment of laws, if the inquirer's subjectivity is an essential feature in his cognition of the past, then how can the historian rightly claim to provide knowledge at all? Such questions, or something like them, are the horns upon which the thinking of most historians became impaled.[1] No doubt, the philosopher-historians in the idealist tradition, from whom the most destructive criticisms of positivism originated,

[1] Cf. the remarks of Professor Beard in his presidential address to the American Historical Association in 1933: "That this crisis in thought presents a distressing dilemma to many historians is beyond question. It is almost a confession of inexpiable sin to admit . . . that one is not a man of science working in a scientific manner with things open to deterministic and inexorable treatment. . . ." "Written History as an Act of Faith," *American Historical Review*, XXXIX (January, 1934), 221–22.

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having never been in bondage to the latter, were not shaken by its downfall. Croce, and later Collingwood, to mention two well-known instances, viewed the emancipation of historical thought from a false scientism as a splendid liberation which must render the historian supreme in his own domain, not indebted for his methods or aims to some alien realm but making them in accordance with the unique character of his own work. But this was not the case of the ordinary unphilosophic historian. He saw clearly enough that the positivist account of historical activity was indefensible. Yet he had become accustomed to think of the natural sciences as the model upon which any true inquiry must be formed; deprived of that model, he was unable to put anything in its place. He was flattered to be told by some philosophers that historical inquiry is a pursuit autonomous and *sui generis*. But he did not like the paradoxes in which these philosophers appeared to indulge. He, for example, was incorrigibly attached to the idea that what he was studying was the past as an independent object. Thinkers such as Croce, however, and Mr. Michael Oakeshott insisted that "every true history is contemporary history,"[2] and that "the past in history varies with the present . . . is the present."[3] The outcome was that the historian felt himself, on the whole, without a reasoned justification of his work. He might, no doubt, console himself by pointing to certain utilities he thought history could supply. Unable, nevertheless, to defend convincingly his claim to provide genuine knowledge, he relapsed into a skepticism in which he could get on with his work only by an act of faith.

So far, at least, as American historians are concerned, skepticism continues to be the climate of opinion in which our work is done. The consequence is that while students are exhorted to believe in the historian's knowledge, they commonly become infected, instead, with the skeptical doubts from which their teachers suffer. Still unhappy at having bade farewell to the natural science model of knowledge, suspicious also, perhaps, of philosophy because of the errors they accuse it of having previously raised in their minds, the majority of American historians can take refuge only in the hope that disturbing theoretical difficulties will not prevent practical people from getting on with their business. But however we may shun philosophy and seek to shut our eyes to these difficulties, or to pass them perfunctorily by, we cannot rid ourselves of the uncomfortable awareness that they are still there, continuing their subversive work. It would be prudent, therefore, to face these difficulties squarely, for there is less risk of error when the historian

[2] *History: Its Theory and Practice*, tr. D. Ainslie (New York, 1921), p. 12.
[3] *Experience and Its Modes* (Cambridge, 1933), p. 107.

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is self-conscious about the nature and presuppositions of his study than when he carries on with doctrines unanalyzed and implicitly accepted. And besides, that the notions historians entertain about their inquiry have an effect, for good or ill, on the conduct of their researches, any account of historiography will make plain. Moreover, so long as the historian is unable to vindicate his claim to genuine knowledge, he will scarcely have a right to complain of the disrespect for historical inquiry, the suspicion that Clio is too fickle a muse to be steadfast in the service of truth, which is part of the intellectual temper of the present age.

It is with these considerations in mind that I propose to examine the well-known essay by the late Professor Carl Becker entitled "Everyman His Own Historian," presented in 1931 as a presidential address to the American Historical Association.[4] Written with Becker's customary wit and geniality, this essay may be regarded as the most representative expression by an American historian of that prolonged malady of skepticism which yet afflicts us. Upon those whom it has persuaded or whose views it has confirmed, the effect has been to drive from their minds the conception of history as a science while substituting nothing of a constructive character in its place. Its influence, moreover, has been the greater with historians because its author was not a philosopher who could be charged with indulging in fancies owing to an unfamiliarity with the historian's work; he was, rather, a highly respected member of their own profession speaking to his colleagues out of rich personal experience of scholarship. They could not but listen, then, when they were informed that their inquiry is, though on a more sophisticated plane, of the same essence and rooted in the same necessities as the activity of Mr. Everyman seeking to ascertain the extent of his coal bill and whether or not he had paid it. I do not wish to be unfair to Becker. He, it is plain, intended his remarks to demolish the illusion of a cold objectivity disinterestedly surveying hard facts, by which he supposed most historians to be misled when they reflected on the nature of their office. Now this view as to the relativity of historical thought, when correctly formulated, is not one which anyone today would care to dispute. But as Becker propounded it, it was enforced by arguments which, if true, would leave no basis upon which the historian could rightly claim to possess knowledge of the past. And that is why the errors (as I think) contained in his position call strongly for correction.

[4] *American Historical Review,* XXXVII (January, 1932). I shall cite this from the volume of Becker's essays bearing the same title, *Everyman His Own Historian* (New York, 1935), pp. 233–55.

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Of the various opinions offered by Professor Becker, I shall deal with only one, namely, what, following its author's language, may be called the notion of the two histories, history as it actually was and history as it is known to us. The other views which he expresses are so closely dependent upon this one that, if it can be shown to be a mistake, we shall have removed the most important support of the kind of skepticism he was inculcating. There will, of course, still be other difficulties in the way of giving a credible defense of the historian's assumption that he has knowledge of the past. But the notion of the two histories is so rooted a conception and is seemingly so much in accord with common sense that effort spent in disclosing its fallacious nature will be well justified.

The passage in which the notion of the two histories is stated occurs in the beginning of Becker's essay and, except for some trifling deletions, I shall reproduce it verbatim:

> I ought first of all to explain that when I use the term history I mean knowledge of history. No doubt throughout all past time there actually occurred a series of events which, whether we know what it was or not, constitutes history in some ultimate sense. Nevertheless, much the greater part of these events we can know nothing about, not even that they occurred; many of them we can know only imperfectly; and even the few events we think we know for sure we can never be absolutely certain of, since we can never revive them, never observe or test them directly. The event itself once occurred, but as an actual event it has disappeared; so that in dealing with it the only objective reality we can observe or test is some material trace which the event has left—usually a written document. With these traces of vanished events, these documents, we must be content since they are all we have; from them we infer what the event was, we affirm that it is a fact that the event was so and so. . . . Let us then admit that there are two histories: the actual series of events that once occurred; and the ideal series that we affirm and hold in memory. The first is absolute and unchanged—it was what it was whatever we do or say about it; the second is relative, always changing in response to the increase or refinement of knowledge. The two series correspond more or less, it is our aim to make the correspondence as exact as possible; but the actual series of events exists for us only in terms of the ideal series which we affirm and hold in memory. This is why I am forced to identify history with knowledge of history. For all practical purposes history is, for us and for the time being, what we know it to be.[5]

Before proceeding, let it be quite clear, though this may be to labor the obvious, why the view just cited will, if true, plunge us into a gulf of skepticism from which there is no escaping. If those events in the past which, as we are told, constitute history in the ultimate sense are for the most part forever barred to us, and those that are accessible but faintly and obscurely so, then, plainly, there is no ground for asserting we have knowledge of them. The

[5] *Everyman*, pp. 233–34.

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historian supposes that it is the past he is reconstructing. Once postulate, however, a past as actuality which is in no way accessible to him, and he will certainly be unable to know it. It is but an inconsequent compromise, devoid of logic, for Becker to tell us of a correspondence, which we seek to make more exact, between the two series, history as it actually was and history as we know it. If we can never know the first series, history as it actually was, we shall certainly never be able to determine whether there is any correspondence between it and the second series.

Against Becker's contention, I shall endeavor to show that there is only one history, that which is known from the evidence presently before us, and that the notion of the two histories or series is not merely wrong but unintelligible. From this it will follow that when the historian, having his evidence before him, declares what this evidence causes him to conclude, he will then (while additional evidence has still to be established) know all that there is at the moment to be known.

Why, it is useful to ask at the outset, does common sense appear, at first sight, to be in accord with the notion of the two histories? The answer is not difficult. We see, on the one hand, that the statements we make about the past change, while, on the other hand, we cannot believe the past changes. What happened, happened, and will be ever the same, we suppose, though what we think is now this and now that. If, however, common sense is right in this conviction, it cannot without absurdity form the notion of the two histories.

This will be apparent at once when we look closely at the remark which declares that "there actually occurred a series of events which . . . constitutes history in some ultimate sense," but that "much the greater part of these events we can know nothing about, not even that they occurred. . . ." What this tells us is that events occurred but we cannot know they occurred; and that is a plain contradiction. One might with equal sense say, "lightning struck, but I cannot know it struck." It is merely unintelligible to deny you can know an event has occurred when you have already affirmed its occurrence. This is the sort of contradiction which entirely vitiates the notion of the two histories. To distinguish a history as it actually was from a history as you know it requires that you know at least one respect wherein the two differ. But you will know that only if you know something of history as it actually was. Suppose you reply that you *can* know something of history as it actually was. This history, then, will be a history known to you, and again Becker's distinction will break down. All this simply shows that the distinction between the two histories is lacking in sense. To affirm something

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as unknowable is in some way to know it, and this is just what Becker has declared is impossible for us.

What has induced Becker to speak in this strange way? It is the difference, already referred to, which common sense makes between a past that does not change and our knowledge of it, which does. But this difference cannot entail the notion of the two histories, since that, we have seen, is a contradiction. It rests, rather, on the fact that we feel our cognition may err or that its reconstruction of the past is incomplete, so that more remains for us to know. This "more," however, is not a sort of essence or impalpable ectoplasm, the past as it actually was, hovering mysteriously behind the evidence, which knowledge can never attain to. It signifies merely questions we may put about the subject of our inquiry which the present state of the evidence will not permit us to answer. And similarly, we conclude we have made an error when a new answer we have obtained from evidence is out of accord with an answer we have previously given, with the result that we must reconsider and revise what we have once thought correct. But from the fact that we revise, or say our knowledge is incomplete, we may not determine that we know nothing of the subject of our study "as it actually was." There is, as a little reflection suffices to show, no difference whatever, except one of rhetorical emphasis, between saying that we know an event and saying that we know an event as it actually was. Nothing is contained in the second statement which is not already included in the first. If knowing be taken to mean—and where inquiry is concerned, I think it must—notions we form from the consideration of evidence, so that, given the evidence, we form these notions and no others, then we can be said to know anything for which we have evidence, and to know it so far as this evidence extends.

Becker, however, feels but little confidence in the knowledge we profess to have of the past because, he informs us, the events which comprise it are dead and can never be revived and observed directly; in dealing with them, we make use of "some material trace . . . usually a written document," and with these traces "we must be content since they are all we have. . . ." On this showing, the objects of direct observation are privileged, so that they alone bear a full title to the name of knowledge. Only if the historian, then, could reproduce the subject of his inquiry at will, as the chemist does in his laboratory, only if he could, for example, summon the Long Parliament back to life and witness its transactions, could he be said to know. This view, an instance of the historian's tenacious longing for the natural science conception of knowledge, must, however, be pronounced mere prejudice. Why should the name of knowledge be reserved especially for that which is di-

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rectly observed? What is known by inference is quite as fully known as what is directly observed. It is, besides, much to be doubted whether, either in the transactions of ordinary life or in learned inquiry, there is any act of so-called direct observation in which inference is not also present. We frequently forget, too, how often, even in the natural sciences, statements concerning the remote past are made from the evidence of "traces of vanished events." The geologist who infers how and when strata were laid down in ages before man, the palaeontologist who reconstructs the evolution of extinct species, the astronomer who attempts to explain the origin of our solar system —none of these investigators has observed the events he is engaged in explaining, yet we do not on that account think their conclusions are weakened or deny them the name of knowledge.[6]

When it is said that we must be content with the traces of vanished events because these are all we have, as if this placed us in a pathetic crux, we can only reply that they are all we need; for traces are evidence, and evidence is what we require in order to have knowledge. By his preference for direct observation, Becker has excluded or, at any rate, minimized, the role of reflective thought, which is the essential ingredient in the formation of knowledge in both history and the natural sciences, whatever be the nature of the evidence from which it derives. This preference, perhaps, is what has led him further on in his essay to define history mistakenly, I think, as "the memory of things said and done."[7] Various objections might justly be lodged against this definition, even when it has been subsequently qualified by Becker as "the memory of events inferred" as well as those observed.[8] Essential as memory is to thought, history can no more be well defined as the memory of things said and done than can mathematics as the memory of equations calculated or physics as the memory of experiments performed. Were history memory, the best historian would be he who had the largest

[6] These instances from the natural sciences do not, it is true, involve inference from verbal evidence, as does so much of the historian's work. But there is one branch of historical inquiry in which verbal evidence is sometimes entirely excluded. I mean archaeology. Thus Professor Rostovtzeff writes: "There is no doubt that the Greek cities of South Russia led a purely Greek life, at least in the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries B.C. The cities themselves were built in Greek fashion. A large amount of Greek building material, especially imported marble, was employed for the construction of temples and public buildings in these cities, and imported marbles and bronze statues were extensively used in the adornment of temples and public squares. . . . Most of the better pottery was imported, as were also many lamps and some of the terracotta statuettes. It is very probable, too, that most of the armour and weapons, the gold, silver, and bronze plate, the gold and silver jewels, the gems and intaglios, were importations." (*The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* [3 vols., Oxford, 1941], I, 106–107.) Correct or not, this view respecting the North-Pontic Greek cities is based on evidence which is not verbal and which, therefore, closely resembles that of the geologist or palaeontologist.

[7] *Everyman*, p. 235.

[8] *Ibid.*

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memory of things. This is, of course, not so. History is distinguished by its character as an inquiry with its own methods and aims and subject matter; one is a historian if he pursues this inquiry, and the best historian is he who pursues it best. It is a mistake to describe history as memory, in however extended a sense the term be taken, because memory itself is uncritical and unreflective, while the historian's thought, as we know, is just the reverse. The historian reflects upon his evidence. At the outset he has only raw data, scraps of parchment, inscriptions, letters, codices, pamphlets, or what-not, and he himself must constitute these as evidence and decide what they are evidence for. Then he interrogates and criticizes the evidence he has thus established. Only now will he know what he must think. That the event with which he deals is one he has himself observed does not exonerate him from the task of reflection which alone enables him to reach his conclusions. We can only smile when, for example, we are informed by the historian Josephus, "My own record of the [Judeo-Roman] War as a whole and of the incidental details is correct, since I was a first hand witness of all the events."[9] The fact is that, in its essentials, the nature of historical inquiry is quite unaffected by whether our subject is one we have ourselves been well situated to observe or one remote from us in time. The process of the historian's thought is the same when he writes a history of naval actions in the Second World War or in the war of the Greeks against Persia, though in the first instance the evidence is, of course, far more abundant.

In the light of what has already been said, it is easy to see what we have in mind when we say, as we occasionally do, that something is unknowable. We mean that we think it unlikely we shall ever have evidence to answer some question or other which has suggested itself to us. But this is a different sort of unknowable from that of which Becker speaks. For the unknowable to which we refer presupposes knowledge; it is a learned ignorance. We know something because we have evidence; this knowledge leads us in turn to ask a new question; we believe the evidence with which to answer this question will not be forthcoming; we then conclude that what we wish to know is unknowable. This, I think, is the only sense which can be attached to such a statement as that "one can know that many things have happened of which no record remains." Clearly, we must have the knowledge, at least, of the existence of an event if we are to ask any questions at all respecting it, even questions to which there may be no answer. We find, for instance, Professor Rostovtzeff writing: "Such being the evidence at our disposal, we

[9] Cited from "A Reply to Apion" in A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (6 vols., Oxford, 1935–39), III, 295.

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must admit that it does not allow us to form even an approximate idea of the density of the population of the Hellenistic world, of its fluctuations, or of the relative size of the various elements in the population, such as the proportion of free citizens to metics and slaves in the cities, and of natives to immigrants in the eastern monarchies."[10] Were the very existence of the Hellenistic world unknown to us, as the Indus civilization at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro was unknown until a little over thirty years ago, we should not be able to say that its population cannot be ascertained. Rather, we should simply have to be silent, for no question could occur to us. It is also worth noting that in speaking of something as unknowable, we frequently incur a certain risk. May it not be that in the future we shall discover evidence to answer a question we had believed unanswerable? No doubt, where the question is one of the population of ancient societies or even of European states as late as the end of the eighteenth century and after, we seem on safe enough ground in pronouncing it unanswerable. The history of learning, however, is filled with sensational discoveries, such as the Indus civilization, which show how mistaken a verdict of unknowable may sometimes be.

Becker thinks our findings as historians something less than knowledge because "even the few events we think we know for sure we can never be absolutely certain of." And here we encounter a not uncommon view, that the mark of knowledge is certainty. This cannot be so, however, if certainty is understood in its proper sense as attaching to propositions not open to doubt, for in every empirical study it is recognized that there is no finding which may not, in principle, be doubted. Strictly speaking, the only certain statements are necessary propositions. It is certain that twice two equals four because this conclusion must follow from our definition of two. Though the statements of fact in which the historian deals cannot be certain in this sense, they are none the less knowledge for that. We need not have certainty in order to know; for if we agree that knowledge consists of ideas for which we can show evidence, then we have knowledge so far as our evidence extends and in proportion as it is good. Were we to make certainty a criterion of knowledge, we could never speak, as we proudly do, of our knowledge as progressing. Instead, every old conclusion expunged by fresh inquiry, and every new one asserted in its stead, would be thought a disaster rather than a triumph. Whether acquired by the historian or the natural scientist, knowledge is, in principle, always open to doubt, since the evidence may have been misunderstood or because new evidence yet to be established may require the

[10] *Hellenistic World*, II, 1142.

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revision of our conclusions. The same process, however, which creates our doubt, also assuages it, namely, consideration of evidence.

Though we may always doubt, we do not always wish to do so, for there are many statements the historian makes that are supported by evidence so strong as to endow them with a character of virtual certainty. We are not, for example, disposed to doubt that Alexander of Macedon won the battle of Issus or Napoleon the battle of Austerlitz, that the emperor Henry IV sought absolution from Pope Gregory VII or that Francis of Assisi founded a mendicant order, that Charles I was put to death by a revolutionary tribunal or that the earl of Clarendon was impeached. These, it is true, are relatively simple statements, and the historian cannot confine himself to them when he is fully discharging his task of giving an account of events in which their course is explained. But not even in the latter case do his remarks necessarily lose their character of virtual certainty. Of this order, perhaps, might be such assertions as that Greece lost its independence because the city states could not effectively unite; that, in the West, monasticism preserved the literary learning of the ancient world after the passing of Roman society; or that nationalism helped to make unstable the settlement laid down at the Congress of Vienna. In general, there is probably more consensus among historians than we are inclined to believe.

I have now shown, I hope, that the notion of the two histories will not survive criticism, and that if we wish to speak intelligibly, we can speak only of one history, that for which there is evidence. Perhaps I shall now be told that this is what Becker has maintained all the time, for, at the end of the paragraph which was quoted at the beginning of this essay, he declares: "For all practical purposes history is, for us and for the time being, what we know it to be." The two views, however, are quite dissimilar. Becker's conclusion is the offspring of his despair. It is the stone he has resolved to content himself with in lieu of the bread he has found unattainable. He must end by describing history as what we know it to be because he has given up all hope of seizing that elusive phantom, history as it actually was, in whose existence he has not for a moment ceased to believe. We, however, if our argument has been sound, have recognized this phantom for what it is, a nothing, a "very coinage of the brain," a "bodiless creation." We have seen that, behind the evidence, there can be no phantom history as it actually was. When, then, we have learned what the evidence has to teach us, we have thereby acquired the substance of knowledge.

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# *Zagorin's Interpretation of Becker: Some Observations*

LEO GERSHOY

IN his introductory pages on the clash of rival philosophies of history, Mr. Zagorin notes with some relevance that they both edify and embarrass the average work-a-day historian. The remainder of his article is a critique of Carl Becker's presidential address, "Everyman His Own Historian." He contends that once the majority of American historians became cognizant of the inadequacies of the claims advanced by "scientific" history, they lapsed into skepticism, bereft of a reasoned justification for the validity of their work. Unable now to believe any longer in the solidity of the historical fact but reluctant to accept the alternative view propounded by the historians of the idealist persuasion, they shun philosophy and carry on with doctrines unanalyzed and implicitly accepted. They are lacking in self-consciousness about the nature and presuppositions of their work and get on with it only by an act of faith.

To be simultaneously skeptical and wanting in critical self-consciousness is to be in a deplorable state indeed. If Mr. Zagorin's evaluation is sound, a situation exists which justifies his endeavor to rescue them from their plight, and to do so by exposing the negativism of Becker's essay. For Becker's persuasive phrases, he is convinced, demolish the conception of history as a science without leaving anything constructive in its place.

To be sure, the great majority of American historians may not be so deficient in self-consciousness as Mr. Zagorin fears, for a spate of books and articles concerning the nature and the processes of history would seem to belie his concern. One could not prove, naturally, that these are read and digested by the "ordinary unphilosophical historian," but on the other hand Mr. Zagorin would also be hard put to sustain his contention. Even the least philosophically minded of historians would not readily avow his indifference to all speculative thought. The possibility also exists that to the degree to which they are skeptical, their skepticism is as much grounded in over-self-consciousness, after the manner of Becker—if not entirely so—as in a willful refusal to examine the notions they have of their inquiry.

Mr. Zagorin's primary concern, at least in this article, is with demolishing Becker's own skeptical fallacy rather than with rescuing its victimized readers; and one turns accordingly to his critique. Becker, he writes, rein-



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forced a relativist position, which no one would care to dispute if correctly stated, with arguments that would leave no basis upon which the historian could rightly claim to possess knowledge of the past. Those errors call for correction. And within the space of his brief essay, Mr. Zagorin calls attention to no fewer than eight of them, roughly one error for every two pages of the printed text of "Everyman His Own Historian," as it appeared in the *American Historical Review*. This is a high percentage of error for anyone.

Fortunately for Becker's claim to professional competence, some of the charges, even at first reading, appear less than formidable. There is the charge, naturally appropriately shaded, that Becker equated history with memory (p. 8) and by doing so virtually placed himself in the position of saying that the best historian is he who has the largest memory of things. As Becker is at some pains to explain that he is using the word "memory" as a kind of shorthand term for the entire process of gathering evidence, criticizing his data, and making hypotheses,[1] Mr. Zagorin's point is not highly negotiable. He tells us, next, that Becker had little confidence in the knowledge we profess to have of the past and evinced by his preference for direct observation the tenacious and prejudiced longing of the historian for the natural science conception of history (p. 7). Perhaps so, though it is puzzling to see how Mr. Zagorin came to that conclusion in view of the fact that Becker explicitly wrote "with the traces we must be content since that is all we have," and more affirmatively still, "neither the value nor the dignity of history need suffer by regarding it as a foreshortened and incomplete representation of the reality that once was. . . ."[2]

In the third place, by that mistaken preference for direct observation, Becker excluded or minimized the role of reflective thought as the essential ingredient in the formation of knowledge (p. 8). All that one who is reasonably familiar with Becker's cast of mind can say is that this opinion is more impressive for its originality than for its validity. Becker may have had grave deficiencies as a historian. Minimizing the role of reflection was not one of them. Moreover, in the fourth place (p. 10), he puts Becker in the category of historians who hold that the mark of knowledge is certainty and then reminds his readers that "We need not have certainty in order to know. . . ." The observation is sound enough, but it is difficult to conceive of anyone who required it less than Becker. In all his writing, and not least in the essay which Mr. Zagorin is examining, Becker insisted with the subtle forcefulness which characterized him that what we do not need in order to have knowl-

[1] "Everyman His Own Historian," *American Historical Review*, XXXVII (1932), 224–25.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 221, 235.

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edge is certainty. On the contrary, he asserted over and over again that our knowledge, as it transforms problems without solving them, remains contingent, purposive, relative, and uncertain. In all that he may have been mistaken, but at least he should be taken to task for an error that he himself made and not for one that is attributed to him.

Those four errors are minor, almost peripheral. Three correlated assertions that Mr. Zagorin makes concerning the bases of Becker's thinking are more serious, viz., Becker's views plunge us into a gulf of skepticism from which there is no escape; his reasoning is not only devoid of logic, but is also unintelligible and lacking in sense; his argument leads to the conclusion that we can have no knowledge of events in the past as actuality, because those events are inaccessible to us (pp. 5–7). Mr. Zagorin's case rests essentially upon these assertions. Hence they should be examined together and with all the respect that is due to a forthright indictment of the thought processes of a historian who has been unusually honored and esteemed by his professional associates.

Mr. Zagorin begins by quoting Becker as saying (1) that a series of events actually occurred which constitutes history in some ultimate sense; (2) that some of these occurrences, indeed the greater part of them, we know nothing about, not even that they occurred; and (3) that other occurrences we know only imperfectly. He ends that discussion by finding Becker guilty of "a plain contradiction" in asserting in one breath that events are forever barred to us and, in another, that knowledge of them is possible. He concludes in short, "there is no ground for Becker's asserting that we have knowledge of *them,*" by "them" meaning events of the past. (The italics are mine.)

Let us examine the argument more closely. When Mr. Zagorin quotes the passage at issue the first time, viz., that "there actually occurred a series of events which . . . constitutes history in some ultimate sense . . . ," he makes it in full. When he analyzes it, however, he omits the highly qualifying phrase which served as preface to the passage. Becker began the passage with the words, *"No doubt throughout all past time"* (again my italics), there doubtless occurred events which we do not know, not even that they occurred. By omitting and ignoring that phrase, Mr. Zagorin misses Becker's point that the historian is not or should not be concerned with the totality of all possible occurrences in the past. He was making a postulate. Like the scientist who uses as a working hypothesis the postulate that there is an external world, Becker postulated that there is a world of historical facts as actuality: there doubtless occurred events which we do not know, not even that they occurred. Having made that postulate, after setting the stage of a

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broad world of almost infinite occurrences, he makes it clear, or at least strives to, that he and all other historians do not concern themselves with the whole of that world whose existence he has postulated, almost parenthetically, in order to dismiss it. He is no longer interested in those occurrences. He is leaving them decently alone. He is content to deal with parts of the stage. His interest lies entirely with those occurrences for which evidence does exist.

Those events for which evidence does exist, of whose occurrence we have traces, we know only imperfectly. But still we know them. About those events we have affirmations, and from the affirmations that we have concerning them, from the evidence, "we infer what the event was. . . ."[3] It is between that series of inferred events, events as actuality, on the one hand, and the series of affirmations concerning them on the other, that the historian attempts to establish a correspondence. The two series are not dualistic, running on parallel lines and never to meet, save of course in infinity. Becker conceived the second series, history as evidence, as converging upon the first and as the first inclining, so to speak, toward the second. The extent of the convergence depends on the increase and refinement of our knowledge. New evidence can increase or refine our knowledge; it can also prove our existing affirmations inadequate or wrong. The greater the knowledge from freshly discovered evidence, the higher the degree of probability in the inferences that we make of what the past as actuality was.

A high degree of probability, established by professional research techniques, common to Becker and Mr. Zagorin, scarcely constitutes ignorance of the past or proves that it is inaccessible. Far from maintaining or concluding that the total past is inaccessible to us, Becker was arguing the exact opposite: he was saying that by inference from evidence, by affirmation and inference working together, inseparably and interdependently, we do have knowledge about those occurrences which are the proper concern of the historian.

If Mr. Zagorin then discovers "a plain contradiction" in Becker's reasoning, he discovers it because by a two-fold process of exclusion and telescoping he has placed it there. The exclusion consists in ignoring Becker's qualifying phrase, "No doubt throughout all past time," and the telescoping in lumping together under the catch-all "them" two categories which Becker had carefully separated: events about which we can know nothing, not even that they occurred, and events concerning which there are traces. In the circumstances Mr. Zagorin's case collapses.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 221.

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His own final observation suggests that he too has a suspicion that the ground he has been resting on is shaky. He leaves the terrain of deductive reasoning to soar into the less charted realm of intuition. A reader could reasonably point out to him, he agrees, that what he has been maintaining all along—that the historian must deal with evidence—is "what Becker has maintained all the time." Not quite, however. The two views are quite dissimilar. Becker's conclusion, whatever its fortuitous resemblance to his own, is only the "offspring of his despair," the end product of a vain pursuit of an unattainable and elusive phantom. But what phantom? Mr. Zagorin's insight into Becker's emotional pattern derives from his conviction that Becker never for a moment ceased to believe in history as actuality. As that premise is wholly untenable, Mr. Zagorin's final flourish that Becker resolved to content himself with a stone instead of bread may be characterized as vivid rather than convincing.

It is all the more regrettable that in conjuring up a Becker who never was and in indicting one of the most provocative thinkers of the guild Mr. Zagorin missed an opportunity to add his own contribution to the searching examination of the relativist position that other historians had begun. As Becker propounded it, he was guilty not of the errors of reasoning that Mr. Zagorin enumerated, but at the most of some ambiguities of expression and overstatements of his credo. Becker, like his critics, could nod.

To be sure, readers "without an immoderate need for certainty"—to employ W. H. Coates's bland phrase[4]—had no difficulty in grasping his thought, even when he insisted most strongly upon making the present the historical center of gravity and argued most persuasively that Mr. Everyman could not escape connecting the present with the future yet to be. Others, however, Mr. Zagorin among them, were led to believe that he did not recognize what J. H. Hexter points out in his recent able article, that "the historian [also] connects the present with the future that has already been" and that the constant rewriting of history is also "a function of the increase of the actual data of the thing to be written about."[5] Becker was eager on the occasion of his presidential address to expose the presumed solidity of the scientific historian's fact, and his emphasis fell heavily upon the fallacies of the belief that the historian handled his evidence with impersonal objectivity. In over-

[4] In a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association at Cleveland, Ohio, December, 1947, "Relativism and the Use of Hypothesis in History," *Journal of Modern History*, XXI (1949), 27. This paper was offered in the form of observations on B. J. Loewenberg's thoughtful, "Some Problems Raised by Historical Relativism," *Ibid.*, pp. 17–23.

[5] J. H. Hexter, "The Historian and His Day," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXIX (1954), 219–33.

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stating his views he induced those readers into thinking that he had not only exposed the inadequacies of research methods but all but advocated that professional historians renounce the techniques which they had slowly refined in order to achieve such objectivity as they could.

Hence his phrase, "the history written by historians, like the history informally fashioned by Mr. Everyman, is thus a convenient blend of truth and fancy," lent itself when read out of context to serious misinterpretation. But read together with his explicit words that it was indeed the first duty of the historian to establish the facts and linked with his own exemplary observance of the canons of professionalism, his elipsis should not upset the equanimity of Clio's more literal-minded champions. Because he denied finality and insisted that knowledge was relative and not certain, he cannot be charged with rejecting evidence and ought not be accused of cutting the ground from under his associates and students. His skepticism was neither nihilism nor despair. Rather than adding to the suspicion that Clio is a fickle muse, his skepticism, by heightening the historian's awareness of his controlling assumptions, has been a contribution to greater objectivity. Far from being sunk in despair himself or infecting his students with a feeling that they could do little more than embark with leaden hearts in pursuit of a phantom history, the record would indicate that his career has spurred them on to refine and augment the store of historical knowledge.

By way of conclusion, then, Mr. Zagorin's essay leaves one unconvinced that he has evaluated Becker's views accurately or justly. But the importance of the problems he raises, however unsatisfactorily he answers them, transcends the limitations of his solutions. By posing again the questions he does about the processes of history and the historian, he continues a great controversy. He enters into the stream of the ancient debate ever renewed to which no end fortunately is in sight.

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# Philip the Fair—A "Constitutional" King

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## I

THE reign of Philip the Fair offers one of the great paradoxes of French history. On the one hand, it sees the culmination of the medieval French monarchy; the royal government reaches a peak of power which it is not to attain again for generations. On the other hand, the king who presides over the government during these crowded years of great events is a shadowy, elusive figure, almost completely hidden behind a screen of bureaucrats. It is hard to prove that any important act of the reign was the result of a personal decision by the king. It is easy to argue that he did nothing, and by doing nothing allowed his ministers to express the traditions of the bureaucracy in a relentless drive for power. And yet those who believe that the important decisions of the reign were made by Philip's ministers merely change the form but not the substance of the paradox. For no one minister held power throughout the reign and no one minister had complete control of the government for even a short period. Yet basic policy remained constant, though tactics changed. If the king did not give continuity and direction to policy, who did? Can it be true that the whole bureaucracy was so imbued with the spirit of aggrandizement that it made no difference who was selected to sit in the royal Council? Or did Philip express his hidden desires through a careful choice of ministers?

This problem worried Philip's contemporaries, and it has worried historians ever since. On the whole, French writers of the early fourteenth century tended to believe that Philip was dominated by evil counsellors. This is the story of Yves of St. Denis,[1] of Geoffroi de Paris,[2] even of such an ardent supporter of the monarchy as Pierre Dubois.[3] Bishop Bernard Saisset made many indiscreet remarks, but the one which stung most and has been re-

[1] *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* (Paris, 1738—), XXI, 205: heavy taxes and alteration of the currency were caused "consiliariorum suorum monitu magis quam proprio ejusdem regis instinctu."

[2] *Ibid.*, XXII, 97, 99, 119.

[3] Pierre Dubois, *De recuperatione terre sancte*, ed. C. V. Langlois (Paris, 1891), p. 120: the king has made some unwise decisions, "non motu proprio sed ducente suo consilio." Cf. pp. 123–24.



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membered longest was his comparison of Philip to the owl: "the handsomest of birds which is worth absolutely nothing . . . such is our king of France who is the handsomest man in the world and who can do nothing except to stare at men."[4] Foreign chroniclers such as the Italian Villani and the Fleming Gilles le Muisis also believed that Philip was a figurehead.[5] Even Boniface VIII, in listing Philip's offenses in *Ausculta fili,* thought it wise to insert some lines attacking the king's evil counsellors, though he added that this was no excuse and that the king bore full responsibility for allowing such men to have power.[6] The Aragonese writer who said that Philip was a masterful ruler, emperor, pope, and king rolled into one,[7] was an exception.

Modern historians have been less willing to write Philip off as a nonentity. The Germans, who see Philip as the originator of the French drive to the east, are especially emphatic on this point. Finke, Holtzmann, Kern, and Wenck all agree that Philip gave consistency and strength to French policy during his reign.[8] The English historian Boase warns against "believing that so much of France was created . . . with no central guiding will."[9] French scholars, who should know the facts best, are a little less sure. Boutaric believed in Philip's leadership and personal responsibility,[10] but Boutaric wrote at the very beginning of serious scholarly investigation of the period. Langlois felt that the problem was insoluble, but his discussion does not do much to convince the reader that Philip was a strong king.[11] Digard, without taking a very definite stand, tended to ascribe responsibility to the "counsellors of the king," to the "court," to Pierre Flote, rather than to Philip.[12] On the other hand Fawtier, who knows the documents of the reign better than any other historian, has no doubt that Philip controlled and directed his government. He admits that some measures may have been initiated by

[4] Pierre Dupuy, *Histoire du differend d'entre le pape Boniface VIII et Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1655), p. 643. That the simile hurt is shown by the fact that it is mentioned several times in royal documents dealing with the bishop's imprisonment. *Ibid.,* pp. 656, 660.

[5] Karl Wenck, *Philipp der Schöne von Frankreich—seine Persönlichkeit und das Urteil der Zeitgenossen* (Marburg, 1905), pp. 28–29.

[6] Dupuy, p. 51. Boniface, like the chroniclers, suggests that the king's agents are feathering their own nests and that they use royal authority to oppress the people.

[7] H. Finke, "Zur Charakteristik Philipps des Schönen," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung,* XXVI (1905), 209: "pus el es rey et papa et emperador." Dino Compagni (*Cronica,* ed. Isidoro del Lungo [Florence, 1902], Book III, chap. 23, p. 174) seems to feel that Philip was responsible for French policy toward the Church.

[8] Finke, pp. 219–21; Robert Holtzmann, *Wilhelm von Nogaret* (Freiburg, 1898), p. 213; Fritz Kern, *Die Anfänge der französischen Ausdehnungspolitik* (Tübingen, 1910), pp. 49, 95, 114; Wenck, pp. 49 ff.

[9] T. S. R. Boase, *Boniface VIII* (London, 1933), p. 68.

[10] Edgard Boutaric *La France sous Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1861), pp. 415 ff.

[11] Charles V. Langlois, *St. Louis, Philippe le Bel et les derniers Capétiens directs* (vol. III, pt. 2 of E. Lavisse, *Histoire de France,* Paris, 1911), pp. 119–23.

[12] Georges Digard, *Philippe le Bel et le Saint-Siège* (Paris, 1936), I, 284, 286, 305; II, 75, 93.

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members of the Council rather than by the king, but he is sure that Philip always knew and approved what was done in his name.[13]

More opinions on both sides of the question could be found, but this is not a problem which can be settled by accumulating authorities. Medieval chroniclers are not very reliable on such matters; many were ill-informed and all were influenced by the convention which blamed unpopular acts of kings on evil advisers. Modern writers are better informed, but are sometimes misled by other conventions: that the great events of a reign must be the result of deliberate policy, and that such a policy can be imposed only by a king. In all the discussion there has been too much arguing from effect to cause, too much concentration on a few striking, and therefore exceptional, events. It may be worth shifting ground for a moment and approaching the problem from another angle, that of the normal, routine activity of the French government. If we find that the king took an active part in dull, routine work, we shall be less willing to admit that he was passive in greater matters. Moreover, small decisions have a way of adding up into major policies, and Philip could easily have set the tone of the entire government through acts which made no great impression on envoys or chroniclers.

We can begin by admitting that many things were done in the king's name about which he knew nothing. France was a large country and had, even then, an unusually high density of bureaucrats, both at Paris and in the provinces. Most of these bureaucrats were trying to distinguish themselves by ceaseless activity in preserving, discovering, and increasing royal rights and revenues. Within certain limits, they had a free hand; they did not have to go to the king for authority for each act, and they received few specific orders regarding their ordinary work.

Yet there were limits, and these limits became apparent whenever a provincial official tried to go too far or too fast in his task of increasing royal power. The government of Philip the Fair was not very tender of the rights of bishops or of communes, but it had more respect for these rights than many local officials. It preferred to hold at least to the letter of the law; it would rather restrict than abolish privileges. It also knew that certain bishops were influential enough to need careful handling and that the loyalty of certain provinces (especially in the South) was too uncertain to stand much rough treatment. Therefore we have dozens of letters forbidding royal offi-

[13] Robert Fawtier, *L'Europe Occidentale de 1270 à 1380*, Part I (Vol. VI, pt. 1, of *Histoire Générale*, ed. Gustave Glotz, Paris, 1940), p. 299: "On peut donc laisser à Philippe le Bel la responsabilité des événements de son règne. Il est vraisemblable qu'il n'a pas eu l'initiative de toutes les mesures qui ont été prises en son Conseil, mais ces mesures ont été prises par des hommes qu'il avait choisis. Il ne leur a fait aucune opposition; rien n'autorise à croire qu'il n'en a pas compris l'esprit ou la portée."

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cials to trouble bishops such as Guillaume le Maire of Angers, or communes such as that of Toulouse.[14] Some of these letters are so emphatic and so personal that it is hard to believe that anyone could have written them except the king himself. Certainly no ordinary royal official could have threatened a seneschal of Périgord with severe punishment for failure to observe the rights of the consuls of Cahors,[15] or told a *bailli* of Caen that his goods would be confiscated if justice were not done to a king's clerk.[16] And the king seems personally concerned when he rebukes a seneschal of Carcassonne for summoning men for military service, not only without a royal order but against a specific order: "such acts," says Philip, "will gain us the ill-will and hatred of our subjects."[17]

It is, of course, impossible to prove conclusively that these letters were written by direct order of the king. But it is clear that there was an inner circle in the government which had full control over all other royal officials and which insisted that its policies should be carried out at all levels of administration. The character of Philip's reign was not determined by a blind drive for power by a horde of petty bureaucrats. Policy was made at the highest level by a very few men, by the king and his Council.

Accepting this, one can still argue that the king was the least important member of the governing group, that he merely ratified decisions which were made by the Council as a whole, or by some of its leading members. This hypothesis would seem to be strengthened, at first glance, by evidence that the king did not always know what members of the Council did in his name. From time to time we hear of letters which have been obtained surreptitiously,[18] of conflicting promises made by the king and members of the Council,[19] of contradictory royal charters.[20] But if these documents prove

[14] Célestin Port, ed., "Le Livre de Guillaume le Maire," *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Mélanges historiques,* II (Paris, 1877), 331–34, 341, 370–73; Adolphe Baudouin, *Lettres inédites de Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1887), nos. 157, 158, 165, 168, 173, etc. (for the commune of Toulouse), nos. 4, 10, 17, 22, 35, 48, 54, 71–77, 105, etc. (for the clergy). Cf. Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 9192, fols. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 (for the citizens of Montpellier).

[15] Archives Nationales, J341, no. 8. The king is especially angry because earlier letters for Cahors have been "scorned" (March, 1308).

[16] Bib. Nat., MS. fr. 25697, no. 28. The *bailli* is accused of neglect and contempt of royal letters. If he does not act at once "tibi predicimus quod in bonis tuis executionem propter hoc fieri fecimus" (Feb. 25, 1305). Other letters which seem to me to have this personal touch are *Ordonnances des roys de France,* ed. E. de Laurière and others, I, 379, 434.

[17] Claude Devic and Joseph Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc,* new ed. by Auguste Molinier and others (Toulouse, 1872–1905), X, *preuves,* col. 236. It is especially striking that this strong letter of March 11, 1289, was followed (col. 238) on September 17 by a much milder one allowing the seneschal to demand service in case of necessity. Certainly someone in Paris had been worrying about the case.

[18] *Les Olim ou registres des arrêts,* ed. A. Beugnot (Paris, 1839–48), II, 497; Arch. Nat., J317, no. 50, J1046, JJ42A, no. 1.

[19] *Olim,* II, 547, III, 815; Arch. Nat., JJ38, no. 29.

[20] *Olim,* II, 444.

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that the king did not always remember his promises or that he was not always informed of what was done in his name, they also prove that no one else was in complete control. In the competition for royal favors several men in succession might gain the king's ear; there was no single all-powerful favorite through whom patronage was channeled. Even more important, we hear of these contradictory orders because the king, in the long run, did become aware that his wishes were not being observed. And in every case he had his way; the surreptitious or conflicting letters were revoked; the claimant to whom the king really wished to give income or office received it. The only safe conclusion from this evidence is that there was some inefficiency, some failure of communication in the French government of the late thirteenth century. The same weaknesses are apparent in any other medieval government; they are not entirely absent in much more highly organized modern states.

Furthermore, someone in the government—almost certainly the king or the keeper of the seal—made an effort to prevent the appearance of these unauthorized or conflicting letters. The rule was gradually established that every document issued in the king's name must carry at the bottom the name of the notary who wrote it and the name of the official who ordered it written.[21] The earliest examples of this practice which I have found come from the 1290's;[22] by 1314 most documents are so authenticated. What is even more helpful to the historian is that the scribes who copied royal letters into the registers of the last years of the reign included in their copies the names of the notaries, and of the officials who ordered the letters written. This means that we have hundreds of cases in which we know precisely who took the responsibility for a certain act of government.

Most of the documents which appear in the registers deal only with trivial matters—such things as amortizations, approval of farms made by local officials, exchanges of property, gifts, acts of pardon and of grace. This has its advantages. We can be sure that we are watching the normal operations of government, not extraordinary procedures invented for great occasions. And it is at least a reasonable supposition that the men who work steadily on these routine matters will be well informed about the kingdom, well versed in administrative procedures, well acquainted with all important members of the court, and hence influential in making major decisions.

A rough tabulation of the names on these documents during the last

[21] Octave Morel, *La grande chancellerie royale* (Paris, 1900), pp. 154–66, 299–311.

[22] Arch. Nat., J178B, nos. 48 (1292), 51 (1294), 55 (1297), 56 (1299). Morel, p. 160, gives as his earliest example J162, no. 9 (1292). Arthur Giry (*Manuel de diplomatique*, Paris, 1925, p. 761) says he found some examples as early as 1286, but gives no reference.

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five years of the reign yields interesting results. First of all, a rather large number of men—at least thirty-two—have authority to order letters written in the king's name. Not all of these men are very active; the great lords of the Council, men such as the counts of Valois and St. Pol, seldom command letters. On the other hand, there are about fifteen names which appear again and again. Purely numerical comparisons among this group would be meaningless, since the record is incomplete, and some letters are more important than others. It is clear, however, that there is a certain amount of specialization. For example, Philippe le Convers orders most of the letters dealing with forests; Hugues de la Celle is the expert on the Saintonge-Poitou area; Guillaume de Marcilly and Guillaume Cocatrix have been given the task of buying land and houses to make room for the extension of the royal palace. Others seem to have more general interests; in this group Nogaret, as keeper of the seal, and Marigny, as financial expert, are conspicuous but not unique. They are no busier than some of their colleagues and they have no exclusive powers; for example, Marigny is far from being the only councillor to deal with financial matters. Neither Nogaret nor Marigny is in the position of a chief minister; there is no chain of command which passes through them. They are merely two of a group of fifteen or so men who are very busy writing letters in the king's name. If there is any direction to this activity at all, it must come either from the group as a whole (and it seems a little large to act as a unit), or from the king.

This leads to the most surprising fact of all. Out of a sample of 658 documents taken from registers JJ45 through JJ50, 280 bear the notation "per dominum regem." That is, over two fifths of a very ordinary batch of letters were ordered by the king in person. In many cases there seems to be no very good reason for the king to take a personal interest, and it is impossible to establish categories of letters which were warranted by the king alone. Most pardons, most amortizations, most gifts to churches and royal favorites were ordered by the king, but letters in all of these categories were also warranted by members of the Council.[23] While most acts dealing with the royal family were ordered by the king, this was not always the case. Of a series of marriage contracts involving the Valois branch of the family, three were warranted by the lord of Chambli and Philippe le Convers, one by the keeper of the seal, and only two by the king.[24] Favors for the dowager queen, who was

[23] Most pardons not by the king are by the chancellor, Arch. Nat., JJ46, nos. 134, 238; JJ50, no. 78; but some are by Marigny, JJ46, nos. 29, 151. It was fairly common for members of the Council to order letters of amortization, cf. JJ45, nos. 104, 108, 202; JJ47, nos. 37, 46, 90. Gifts to churches, JJ47, nos. 19, 132; JJ48, no. 42, JJ49, no. 40. Gifts to intimates of the king, JJ47, no. 89, JJ48, nos. 36, 75.

[24] JJ49, nos. 58, 59, 71, 114, 229, 254.

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not on good terms with her stepson, were usually ordered by members of the Council.[25] On the other hand, while the king did not always act in cases where he might have been expected to do so, he frequently took responsibility for ratifying farms of the royal domain, exchanges of property between subjects, and marriage contracts of quite ordinary people.[26] These were all routine acts which could have been accomplished by any councillor.

It might be argued that these mentions of the king are purely formal, that he was merely approving acts which had been decided on by others. But if this were true, it would be difficult to explain why the chancery clerks thought there was a difference between letters ordered by the king and those ordered by members of the Council. It would also be difficult to explain why almost all letters warranted "per dominum regem" were written by a single notary, Maillard, and why Maillard seldom prepared letters for anyone else. If Philip's warrant were mere form, any notary could have written the document; only if the king took a personal interest would he need a personal scribe.

Moreover, there is some reason for believing that letters ordered by the keeper of the seal sometimes reflected a personal command by the king. On at least two occasions, Philip sent a personal letter to Nogaret ordering him to prepare letters under the great seal.[27] There is also an interesting case in which two letters ordered by the king were canceled, apparently because they lacked some details, and replaced by fuller letters ordered by the keeper of the seal.[28] Here the keeper probably took the king's letters as warrants for the preparation of his own. Finally, we have a few cases in which the scribe notes that the keeper told him the king had ordered the letter written.[29] Even if only a few of the letters ordered by the keeper of the seal were actually commanded by the king, it would still raise the proportion of letters in which the king took a personal interest to almost fifty per cent of the total.

To sum up, the impression given by this material is that the king controlled and directed the routine work of the government. He was the one who assigned tasks to his councillors, and he reserved the right to act directly and personally in any matter which interested him. There were too many councillors, and responsibility was too evenly divided among them, for any

[25] JJ47, no. 37; JJ49, nos. 19, 129.

[26] JJ45, no. 121; JJ47, no. 42; JJ48, no. 127 (farms). JJ47, no. 14; JJ49, nos. 73, 193 (exchanges). JJ46, no. 30, JJ49, no. 221 (marriages).

[27] Holtzmann, *Wilhelm von Nogaret,* p. 265: an order to Nogaret, April 5, 1308, to seal a charter granting land to the king's son Charles; p. 272: orders to seal letters to the *baillis* of Sens and Auvergne.

[28] Arch. Nat., JJ48, fols. 58v, 59.

[29] JJ49, no. 145: "per dominum Regem, ut dicitis."

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single minister to dominate the government. At the very least, the king was busier than any member of his Council; he was informed about a great variety of matters and he made many decisions. Certainly Philip was not the lazy king who, according to some chroniclers, did nothing but hunt, nor yet the stupid king described by Bernard Saisset who understood nothing and only stared at people.

## II

This king who took such interest in the small details of government cannot have been indifferent to greater affairs. If no one councillor was given full responsibility for handling routine business, it is a little difficult to believe that any councillor had unlimited power in making important decisions. We may therefore place more confidence in the scattered notes in the *Olim,* which show the king intervening in cases which came before the *parlement,* making decisions, ordering punishments, suspending sentences, reversing previous acts, directing that inquests be held.[30] We may also believe that the rare references in financial documents to direct intervention by the king[31] would be more numerous if we had fuller records. And we can be reasonably sure that the king who intervenes in both judicial and financial business is Philip the Fair in person and not some vague group of ministers acting in his name.

It seems clear that Philip directed and controlled ordinary operations of government. This raises a strong presumption that he also directed and controlled the government when it made major policy decisions. But presumption is not proof, and it is precisely in this area that Philip seems to be screened most completely by his ministers. His opinions and wishes are never expressed; it is the ministers who make the accusations against Boniface VIII and against the Temple, who draw up the lawsuits which nag the king of England and the count of Flanders into war, who prepare the way for the annexation of Lyons and other imperial territories by adroit diplomacy and propaganda. And it is precisely on such matters that the foreign ambassadors

[30] *Olim,* II, 311, 404, 485; III, 626, 891: king makes decisions in *parlement. Olim,* II, 208, 262, 590, 604; III, 815, 818: king consulted before judgment is passed. *Olim,* II, 590; III, 542, 622, 705: king modifies punishments or reverses sentences. *Olim,* III, 222, 879, 891: king orders inquests made.

[31] Bib. Nat., MS. lat. 9018, no. 47: a list of difficult points in the accounts of All Saints, 1298; two are marked "loquendum cum rege." An accusation against Betin Caucinel, a master of the royal mints, published by C. V. Langlois in *Revue historique,* LX (1896), 327, suggests that Philip took a personal interest in having accounts carefully checked: ". . . quar d'unes de vos simples bailliees, sire, voulez que vostre conseill sache la verité, que le vous puent valoir, et voulez savoir se li baillez en rente bon conte et louial."

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complain that they can never get a personal interview with the king, that Philip will answer only with and through his Council.[32]

And yet, even here there is some evidence to show that the king made the final decisions. The basic policies of the reign appear quite early, long before famous ministers such as Flote or Nogaret or Marigny play any role in the central government. For example, pressure by royal officials on the Church increased sharply in the first years of the reign; by 1291 Nicholas IV could say that the churches of France were complaining daily of grave injuries.[33] Attempts to annex imperial territories were also well under way by the early 1290's,[34] and the *parlement* was already intervening in the affairs of Gascony and of Flanders.[35] Even more significant is the fact that members of the royal family played an essential role in Philip's foreign policy. Franche-Comté was to be annexed through a carefully planned series of marriages of French princes; English friendship was to be gained by the union of Philip's daughter and Edward's son; Germany was to be controlled by proposing a French prince as a candidate for the imperial throne.[36] Anyone who has read the documents of the reign knows that Philip took a deep personal interest in all matters touching members of his family, and it is inconceivable that he could have allowed his children and his brothers to be used as pawns to support a policy devised by others. He undoubtedly took advice, but the final decision on royal marriages and candidacies for foreign thrones must have been his alone. And yet such marriages and candidacies, as we have seen, were essential elements of French policy.

Moreover, there are a few cases in which we can penetrate the screen of conciliar anonymity and see the king making decisions. One of the best examples is the discussion in the Council following the arrest of Bernard Saisset.[37] There is a long report of the argument between the clerical and the lay members of the Council over the treatment of the bishop; the churchmen

[32] Heinrich Finke, *Acta Aragonensia* (Berlin, 1908–22), I, 455: Philip refuses to discuss a marriage treaty because "ibi non erat suum consilum"; I, 462: he refuses to speak with envoys of Aragon about the Val d'Aran because "non essent ibi presentes illi de suo consilio qui debebant huic negocio interesse." It should be noted that in each case Philip had good reasons for wishing to evade an interview. There was little to be gained by a marriage alliance with Aragon, and the French claim to the Val d'Aran was so weak that delay was the best tactic.

[33] *Les registres de Nicholaus IV*, ed. Ernest Langlois (Paris, 1905), no. 6849: the pope remarks that the churches of France "qui se a tuis officialibus gravibus injuriis affectas hactenus et affici cotidie conquerentes" were not disposed to pay new tenths to the king. *Ibid.*, nos. 281–83, 709–11, 736, 1175–77, 1587: cases before 1290 in which Philip quarreled with the Church. (I owe this list to the kindness of the Rev. Gerald J. Campbell, S.J.). Cf. Digard, I, 83–100.

[34] Kern, pp. 139 ff.; Finke, "Zur Charakteristik Philipps des Schönen," p. 219.

[35] *Olim*, II, 318, 321, 347 (Aquitaine); 291, 300, 311 (Flanders).

[36] Kern, pp. 49, 95.

[37] *Gallia Christiana*, XIII, cols. 107–15.

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naturally wanted to be lenient, while the laymen were angry and urged severe punishment. Philip had to intervene repeatedly, and while the speeches ascribed to him probably do not give his exact words, it is clear that he made the final decisions in a badly divided Council. He was willing to proceed with the case, but he wanted it done with as little scandal as possible—a policy which pleased neither faction.

Thus Philip made the decision which was to lead to the final quarrel with Boniface VIII. We can only speculate about the king's role during the acute stages of the quarrel. The formal approval given in his name to the acts of Nogaret could cover anything from mere acquiescence to active participation. But it has often been pointed out that, once Boniface was dead, Philip could have settled the whole dispute quickly, and on favorable terms, by sacrificing Nogaret. Nogaret himself seems to have feared this, since he begged the king to maintain his cause.[38] Philip accepted the responsibility; only when Nogaret was absolved on easy terms did he make a final settlement.[39] Yet this settlement was reached during a period when Marigny was rising to prominence; it is hard to see why Marigny, or any other leading member of the Council, should have been so anxious to protect a rival. Nogaret certainly believed that he needed the king's support, and it is doubtful that anyone else could have saved him from severe penalties. On the other hand, it is difficult to see why Philip should have been so anxious to protect Nogaret if he felt that Nogaret was entirely responsible for the difficulties which followed Anagni. Only if Philip had made the policy was it his duty to protect a minister who had merely acted as an agent.

The case of the Val d'Aran is less well known than that of Anagni; it is important because it produced some of the letters which seem to show Philip throwing all responsibility on his Council. Yet if we examine these documents closely we shall see that no decision could be made without the king, that all concerned tried to persuade the king to adopt their point of view, and that the king's decision could not be predicted through knowledge of the opinions of his Council. The Val d'Aran had been occupied by French troops during the Crusade of 1285 against Aragon, and retained because it had strategic importance.[40] Philip had promised to restore all the rights of the king of

[38] Holtzmann, pp. 131, 137, 253.

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 163, 201–206.

[40] Arch. Nat., J588, no. 29: a report of the French envoys notes that the valley contains "quinque portus versus regnum Francie in montanis per quos habetur secretus introitus infra regnum"; it has been called "clavis regni Francie"; it would greatly profit the king if he could keep it "cum iusticia et absque pecato." F. Pasquier gives a good account of the whole affair, "Cession définitive du Val d'Aran à l'Aragon," *Revue de Comminges*, VII (1892), 100–13. See especially p. 113, where Philip says, in 1308, that his advisers claim that he has well-established rights in the valley.

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Aragon, but his agents had been slow in determining what those rights were. The matter was finally referred to the cardinal of Tusculum for arbitration, and by 1312 it was evident that the Aragonese were winning the case. The French envoys, distressed because the valley was useful to France, suggested that the king's Council ought to look at the evidence before the arbitrator made a final decision.[41] The king of Aragon, anxious to obtain possession, wrote to both Philip and Nogaret arguing that it was more honorable to surrender the valley voluntarily than to be forced out by an official decision.[42] The envoys of Aragon tried repeatedly, and vainly, to obtain an interview with Philip to present their master's point of view.[43] In these circumstances it is not surprising that Philip played for time by insisting that he could not act without his Council, and without full deliberation in the Council.[44]

It is clear that this was one of the affairs of the South in which Nogaret specialized,[45] that he was expected to have a good deal of influence on the final decision, and that he opposed French withdrawal. All the Aragonese reports recognize this fact; the letter to Nogaret was written at the suggestion of an Aragonese envoy who thought that he might be flattered into withdrawing his opposition to the surrender of the valley.[46] But it is also clear that Nogaret did not have the final word, and that the Aragonese felt that they could overcome his opposition if they could convince Philip that their claim was just. In the end Philip gave up the Val d'Aran, even though this was against the wishes of his envoys and of Nogaret.[47] The fact that Nogaret died before the final settlement may have made Philip's decision easier, but it is still true that the men who had been appointed to deal with the question wanted to keep the valley and that the decision to relinquish it must have been made by the king.

Finally, we may notice that Philip's diplomacy was often very personal. On at least two occasions he sent several groups of envoys to the pope, each charged with a separate task.[48] They were men who ranked high in the royal

[41] Arch. Nat., J588, no. 29.

[42] *Ibid.*, nos. 29 bis, 29 ter. Cf. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia,* I, 458.

[43] *Acta Aragonensia,* I, 460 ff. For other Aragonese documents on the affair see pp. 159–60, 452, 458.

[44] *Ibid.*, I, 462: Philip said at first that he could not discuss the affair because "non essent ibi presentes illi de suo consilio qui debebant huic negocio interesse," but then shifted ground and claimed that while the Council was present it was too busy working on the Flanders question.

[45] C. V. Langlois, "Les papiers de Guillaume de Nogaret," *Notices et extraits,* XXXIX (1909), part 1, pp. 211 ff. Nogaret had documents concerning the Val d'Aran in his possession.

[46] Finke, *Acta Aragonensia,* I, 458.

[47] Pasquier, p. 108; G. Iurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragon* (Saragossa, 1562), I, 324.

[48] Edgard Boutaric, *Clément V, Philippe le Bel et les Templiers* (Paris, 1874), pp. 59–60, 68–69; Holtzmann, pp. 192, 198 (three missions at Avignon in 1310). Clement V felt that at least two of the envoys were contradicting each other. E. Boutaric, "Documents inédits relatifs à

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administration; no one but the king could have co-ordinated their activities. Another envoy to Rome was given such secret documents on the affair of Boniface that even after Philip's death he would surrender them to no one except by direct, personal order of the new king.[49] Nogaret had been given copies at a later date, since they concerned his affairs, but apparently the Council as a whole was not supposed to see them. (This would support the earlier argument that Philip took a personal interest in seeing that Nogaret was cleared.) A last example of personal diplomacy was Philip's attempt to gain papal support for the election of his son, Philip of Poitou, as emperor.[50] The Council had agreed that it was desirable to have a French candidate but had divided on the question of the person. Philip told the papal envoy, in secret and alone, that he was working for his son. Yet on this same occasion he let Marigny do the talking, though he was present, when a papal request for aid for a Crusade was denied. Here again, the Council had been divided. Most of the members had favored the papal project; Marigny had argued that France could not afford the expense. No one but the king could have overruled the majority of the Council. Yet, though he must have made the decision, he allowed Marigny to announce it. He thus avoided an unpleasant task and left himself free to change the decision if the pope decided to give whole-hearted support to Philip of Poitou.[51]

## III

This long discussion has still not resolved the contradiction with which the paper began. On the one hand, there is too much evidence that Philip took an active part in both small and great affairs to write him down as a figurehead. On the other hand, it is clear that both individual ministers and the Council as a whole had too much power and responsibility to be dismissed as rubber-stamps. And the king's habit of letting his ministers speak for him on the most important occasions cannot be explained as just a political trick; it seems to have expressed a deep-seated conviction that this was the proper way to act.

The contradiction can be resolved only if we remember a fact which

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l'histoire de France sous Philippe le Bel," *Notices et extraits,* XX (1861), part 2, p. 146 (three sets of envoys at Rome in 1302).

[49] C. V. Langlois, "Geoffroi du Plessis, protonotaire de France," *Revue historique,* LXVII (1899), 75–76. Geoffroi received these documents at the time of the conclave in Perugia in 1304.

[50] Jakob Schwalm, "Beiträge zur Reichgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Neues Archiv,* XXV (1900), 565–66.

[51] *Ibid.,* p. 564. It was suggested that Philip might do more for the Crusade if a French prince were elected king of the Romans.

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Philip's contemporaries never let him forget: that he was the grandson of St. Louis. He had grown up in a court which was saturated with memories of the holy king; he had worked hard to secure the canonization of his grandfather; it was only natural that he should seek to imitate this model monarch. This meant, first of all, piety, and few historians have ever doubted that Philip was honestly and sincerely pious. But with the piety went a deep sense of the dignity, the greatness, and the mission of French kingship. The king was the high priest of the "religion of monarchy,"[52] remote, aloof, withdrawn from all vulgar quarrels. He was to be approached only through his acolytes; the sacred mysteries were not to be revealed to the profane. Finally, a good king did not govern arbitrarily; he did not act on his own whims or make decisions in haste. He must be surrounded by "prud'hommes" who advised and informed him; he must always take counsel before acting. St. Louis had felt that even in the midst of a battle he must hold a council before changing his plans. Philip the Fair acted the same way in the midst of his political battles. But no one has ever doubted that St. Louis made his own decisions after asking for advice, and there is no reason to suppose that Philip was any more bound by the opinions of his Council.

The best phrase to describe Philip is somewhat anachronistic; he wanted to be a "constitutional" king. But if we give the word "constitutional" its broadest meaning it is a fair description of his policy. Philip tried to conform to the traditions of the French monarchy and the practices of the French government. As far as possible, he governed his realm through a well-established system of courts and administrative officials. He always asked the advice of responsible men; he was influenced by that advice in working out the details of his general policy. He tried to stay at least within the letter of the law; he tried to observe the customs of the kingdom. When he had to go beyond established custom he always sought to justify his action and to obtain the consent of those who were affected. This is why he called the Estates General to hear explanations of his policy toward Boniface VIII and the Templars, why he sought approval of unusual taxes from local assemblies,[53] why, when he annexed the Lyonnais and imposed an onerous treaty on Flanders, he sent his agents to obtain the consent of each community which was affected by his acts.[54] At the very least, consent satisfied the king's desire to remain within the limits of legality. Often, of course, it had important

[52] Fawtier, pp. 300–301.

[53] J. R. Strayer and C. H. Taylor, *Studies in Early French Taxation* (Cambridge, 1939), pp. 43–86.

[54] Piérre Bonnassieux, *De la réunion de la Lyon à la France* (Lyon, 1874), pp. 96–105; Frantz Funck-Brentano, *Philippe le Bel en Flandre* (Paris, 1897), pp. 513–15.

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political consequences as well; it certainly facilitated the collection of taxes and strengthened the monarchy in the struggle with Boniface VIII.

If we think of Philip as a "constitutional" king we see why he preferred to work through his ministers and Council. This was the proper and customary way to act; it showed that the king was taking the advice of men learned in precedents and in the law. It preserved the king as a symbol of unity, far above transitory disputes and petty considerations of gain or loss. But it does not mean that Philip refused responsibility and allowed others to govern in his name. He worked hard at his job of being a king; he knew what was going on in his kingdom, and no important act could be accomplished until he made the final decision.

This is not to say that Philip was the model of a wise and just king. His will was stronger than his intelligence; he could be led astray by the very intensity of his belief in the Christian faith and the French monarchy. His piety was as narrow as it was deep; if his own conscience could be satisfied by appropriate forms and phrases, he often failed to realize what consequences his acts might have for others. His faith in the mission of the French monarchy was so broad that it tended to blot out any other considerations—the interests of Western Christendom as a whole, or the rights and welfare of his subjects. He sought moral and legal justification for all his acts, but he was easily persuaded that in any dispute right was entirely on his side and that opposition to his will was inexcusable. His real respect for custom and for law was vitiated by his tendency to accept appearances for reality. If the proper legal forms had been used in a suit to establish royal rights, if a plausible case had been made for the annexation of a border territory, if an assembly had given official support to his policy, he was not apt to inquire too closely how these results had been achieved.

Royal officials knew of these weaknesses and sought to exploit them. Their interest clearly lay in extending royal power, and if they could achieve this end by playing on the king's piety and pride in the French monarchy they naturally did so. Thus the king was told repeatedly that it was his duty as a Christian ruler to persevere in the charges against Boniface VIII and against the Temple. Philip was undoubtedly influenced by this pressure, just as any ruler, no matter how strong, is influenced by the advice of his immediate subordinates. It is even probable that his tactics were altered by the advice that he received. For example, his growing caution in the last years of the reign may reflect Marigny's worries about finance, just as his aggressiveness in the period 1297–1302 may owe something to Flote's impetuous nature. (On the other hand, the young, energetic king may have sought out an aggressive

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minister, and the tired, middle-aged ruler may have looked for a cautious adviser.) But the fact that ministers may have influenced the king's tactics does not mean that they determined his basic strategy. They all submitted memorandums to him on important questions, and the mere act of submitting memorandums shows that the final decision lay with the king. And the fact that the broad outlines of policy remain consistent from one end of the reign to the other indicates that individual decisions had to be fitted into a general plan which only Philip could have established. No one, not even the king's badly spoiled brother Valois, could make him take much interest in the affairs of Italy. No one, not even the cautious Marigny, could make him give up entirely his attempt to reduce Flanders to obedience. None of his highly placed ecclesiastical advisers could persuade him to quash the charges against Bernard Saisset, or to abandon his policy of restricting the political power of the Church.

In fact, Philip's relations with his Council were not unlike those of a modern prime minister with his cabinet. Special tasks were assigned to each member, advice was always asked and often taken, but final decision and general direction of policy remained with the king. This relationship made it easy for Philip to be a "constitutional" king. He could allow his officials to act in his name because he knew that they would serve his purposes. He could follow due process of law, he could work through official channels, he could always ask for the opinion of his Council because, in the last analysis, he controlled the government. He did not have to set up a group of household officers to control the official government, as his contemporary, Edward I, did; the government was but an extension of his household and he was very much at home in any of its offices. No bureau was autonomous; no minister was strong enough to make his will prevail; no organ of public opinion had any real power. Philip took responsibility for his reign in his own lifetime;[55] he must be allowed to bear that responsibility in the judgment of historians.

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[55] On his deathbed Philip is reported to have said that he had received bad advice but that "ipsemet erat causa mali consilii sui." C. Baudon de Mony, "La mort et les funerailles de Philippe le Bel," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes,* LVIII (1897), 12.

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# A Century of Historiography on the Origins of the Crimean War

BRISON D. GOOCH

EXAMINATION of the circumstances which created the Crimean War has proved to be one of modern historiography's thorniest problems. Temperley accurately summed up the academic endeavor of eighty years, observing that "the origins of the Crimean War are not even yet wholly revealed."[1] Some recent works have been in agreement with those contemporaries of the war who regarded it as useless.[2] In glowing prose, the historian of the war "drew several red herrings across the trail; and fifty years after the fall of Sebastopol the war was interpreted far less satisfactorily than it had been between 1854 and 1856."[3] Bernadotte Schmitt pointed out that the "most diverse views," sponsored with varying motives and intensities, have gained currency and favor.[4] What are these suggested interpretations, what has careful research indicated, and where is more work needed?

## I

The most common belief regarding the cause of the Crimean War is that it was fought in defense of the Ottoman Empire, a war for the status quo and against Russian encroachment. Despite the fact that Russia had actively sought to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire (and the status quo) in 1828 and again in 1833, Europe by 1852 had come around to the view that, since Russia was able to save the Turk, she was also capable of, and intent upon, his destruction. The Turks themselves enthusiastically sought to promote the identification of Ottoman independence with European safety.[5]

[1] Harold Temperley, *England and the Near East: The Crimea* (London, 1936), p. ix. See also Vernon J. Puryear, "New Light on the Origins of the Crimean War," *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, III (1931), 219–34.

[2] J. A. R. Marriott, *The Eastern Question* (Oxford, 1940, 4th ed.), p. 249; Bernadotte E. Schmitt, "The Diplomatic Preliminaries of the Crimean War," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXV (1919), 36; Nassau William Senior, *Conversations with M. Thiers, M. Guizot, and Other Distinguished Persons during the Second Empire* (2 vols., London, 1878), I, 214; André Gayot, ed., "Lettres de François Guizot à Laure de Gasparin," *Rev. des deux mondes*, XVII (1933), 388.

[3] Gavin B. Henderson, *Crimean War Diplomacy and Other Historical Essays* (Glasgow, 1947), p. 243. These essays are the most valuable recent monographs specifically on the Crimean War.

[4] Schmitt, "Diplomatic Preliminaries," pp. 36–37. One of the best summaries of each country's guilt is presented in Temperley, pp. 507–13.

[5] Alexandre Jomini, *Etude diplomatique sur la guerre de Crimée (1852 à 1856)* (2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1878), I, 4–5. Quotations from this source are given in translation. Horace de Viel Castel, *Memoirs of Count Horace de Viel Castel* (2 vols., London, 1888), I, 23.



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On March 2, 1854, Napoleon III stated before the *Sénat* and *Corps législatif* that France had "no idea of aggrandizement" but was going to the aid of the Ottoman Empire with "all those who wish the triumph of law, justice, and civilization" in order to "defend the rights of Christians" and France's "own influence in the Mediterranean."[6] The pretense that France and Britain were fighting the battle of all Europe against Russian encroachment was an attempt to put their real position in its best, most attractive light, and to persuade others to join their cause.[7] The emperor's assertion seemed reasonable to many in the 1850's and has maintained its appeal for nearly a century. Léon Faucher felt that the "real issue was the independence of Turkey"; Granier de Cassagnac attributed the war to the tsar's desire to partition the Ottoman Empire; and Saint-Marc Girardin wrote that, if Russian influence at Constantinople were to be destroyed, then the proper procedure was to weaken Russia rather than to try to strengthen the Ottoman Empire.[8] Such pro-French writers as Delord and Rousset declared that the Crimean War was fought to defend the Ottoman Empire.[9] La Gorce, writing before the turn of the century, was in general agreement with his French predecessors.[10] Edmond Bapst gave the position its finest documentation, while in 1921 it was best summarized by Seignobos.[11] In *The Second Republic and Napoleon III* (London, 1930) René Arnaud followed closely this tradition, which La Gorce and Seignobos had approved; the official Soviet view in 1940, promulgated in *Russia in the Nineteenth Century* and relying heavily on the works of Marx and Engels, also accepted this interpretation.[12] Marriott echoed this threat to the vital interests of Europe.[13] In 1940, a

[6] *Le Moniteur universel* (Paris), Mar. 3, 1854.

[7] Henderson, p. 99.

[8] Senior, I, 141–42; Adolphe Granier de Cassagnac, *Souvenirs du Second Empire* (3 vols., Paris, 1879–82), II, 226–27; Louis Thouvenel, *Nicholas Ier et Napoléon III* (Paris, 1891), p. 96. See also S. M. Goriainov, *Le Bosphore et les Dardanelles* (Paris, 1910), p. 92.

[9] Taxile Delord, *Histoire du Second Empire* (6 vols., Paris, 1868–75), I, 522–30; Camille Rousset, *Histoire de la Guerre de Crimée* (2 vols., Paris, 1887), I, 1–82. Edouard Driault's *La Question d'Orient* (Paris, 1905) follows the same idea but is disappointingly superficial despite its association with Gabriel Monod.

[10] Pierre de La Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire* (7 vols., 4th ed., Paris, 1896–1905), I. The papers of E. A. Thouvenel (*Nicholas Ier et Napoléon III*) on the diplomacy of 1852–54 also support this view.

[11] Edmond Bapst, *Les origines de la guerre de Crimée* (Paris, 1912); Charles Seignobos, *La Revolution de 1848—Le Second Empire*, in Ernest Lavisse, ed., *Histoire de France contemporaine depuis la révolution jusqu'à la paix de 1919* (10 vols., Paris, 1920–22), VI, 300–11. Seignobos accepts Ollivier's account of the motives of Napoleon III; he also leans heavily on Kinglake. See also Vicomte de Guichen, *La Guerre de Crimée (1854–1856) et l'attitude des puissances européennes* (Paris, 1936), pp. 1–128.

[12] In Frantz Funck-Brentano, ed., *National History of France* (10 vols., London and New York, 1916–37), IX; M. V. Nechkina, ed., *The History of Russia* (Moscow, 1940; Eng. trans. Oliver J. Frederiksen and Bernard Pares, Ann Arbor, 1953), II, 315–16, 410.

[13] Marriott, p. 266. See J. Aulneau's comments on the tsar's objects in his "M. de Bismark à la diète de Francfort et la politique de la Prusse pendant la guerre de Crimée," *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*,

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well-documented work on Napoleon III's policy in the Near East found that, basically, "the Crimean War, 1854–1856, was a war fought ostensibly for the preservation of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire but actually for the curtailment of Russian encroachment."[14] Followers of this persuasion have found that Russian aggressive designs seized upon the opportunity presented by the dispute over the Holy Places.

Today the specific points at issue with regard to the Holy Places may seem trivial. Whether the Latin (Catholic) or the Greek (Orthodox) Christians would have the key to the Great Church of Bethlehem and which would hold services earliest in the day in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem were two of many such questions on which the whole problem was based. By 1850 the Catholic population of Jerusalem was less than six per cent and Catholic pilgrims numbered less than a hundred out of twelve thousand making the journey each year to Jerusalem. Latin rights since 1332[15] are best explained in A. E. Mange's *Near Eastern Policy of the Emperor Napoleon III.*[16] The latest capitulation, or special concession, had been that of 1740, which granted, among other things, permission to all "Christian and hostile nations" to continue to visit Jerusalem under protection of the French flag.[17] France thus spoke for all Catholics of Europe in 1740. Since 1740, however, the Latins had not fulfilled their responsibilities in the East and the Greeks had taken over many of their functions of upkeep and repair. For this the sultan had given the Greeks special firmans and titles which conflicted with existing treaties and capitulations and could be revoked at will. In the heated discussions over specific points at issue, the French were legally correct, but current practice since 1759 favored the firmans as better representing justice. Greek claims dated from 634, but the tsar's specific rights stemmed from the treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji in 1774 with reaffirmations of his position in 1812 at Bucharest, in 1826 at Akkerman, in 1829 at Adrianople, and in 1833 at Unkiar Skelessi. In the Five-Power Convention of 1841, Russia renounced only new rights gained at Unkiar Skelessi and not those

XXIII (1909), 406. For an interesting similar situation for the France of 1572, see Jacques Barth, "L'Evolution de la Question d'Orient," *Rev. des études hist.*, LXXX (1914), 191.

[14] Alyce Edythe Mange, *The Near Eastern Policy of the Emperor Napoleon III*, Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, XXV (Urbana, 1940), p. 14; Also see A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch, eds., *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 1783–1919* (3 vols., New York, 1922–23), II, 340–76. F. T. O. Hearnshaw and W. F. Reddaway accept this thesis in their clear but dated summaries. Hearnshaw concludes by welcoming the ideas of Kinglake and Ollivier and assigns to Napoleon III an even more unfavorable role than he has already cast for Nicholas I.

[15] This convention allowed Franciscans in Jerusalem the liberty to remain inside the church and to celebrate the mass there. Actual title was not stipulated. See Jomini, I, 127, 129–30.

[16] See n. 14 above. Nearly every collection of diplomatic correspondence has its summary of religious claims and pertinent treaties.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

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previously granted.[18] Actually, however, "neither Nicholas nor Nesselrode nor Brunnow knew much about the treaty [Kuchuk Kainarji] or the claims it put forth."[19] The Muslim sultan, caught in the center of a Christian dispute, finally (February, 1852) attempted to satisfy all parties by awarding the keys to the French while assuring the Greeks that in effect the status quo was unchanged. This obvious inconsistency gave rise to further complaints from both the French and the Russians.[20] A. J. P. Taylor has called this *de facto* decision favoring the French simply *Realpolitik;* the Turks concluded that in the last resort the French fleet could defeat the Russian, even if the latter were united with the Ottoman fleet. Fear of French power had become greater in Constantinople than fear of Russian power, and hence, Taylor concludes, overt Russian action became imperative unless her twenty-year policy of maintaining the Ottoman Empire through fear and threat were now to be abandoned.[21]

The question of the Holy Places raised in 1850 was only a continuation of French policy since 1819.[22] Guizot had "tried to make what the Americans call political capital by supporting the Latins against the Greeks."[23] Louis Napoleon found support for his demands from Austria, Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, Belgium, and Naples. In 1850 then, France still spoke for Catholic Europe. That Louis Napoleon's motive was to maintain and increase support for his program from the clerical party headed by Montalembert and de Falloux has been clearly established. That this party expected and encouraged government participation in purely religious ambitions is equally evident.[24] Considering Louis Napoleon's cool relations with Britain at this period and his stand on the Danish Question,[25] it would be difficult to explain his position as deliberately anti-Russian. It seems more reasonable to say

[18] *Annual Register,* XCV (1853), 230; Temperley, p. 466; Mange, "Near Eastern Policy," p. 19; R. W. Seton-Watson, *Britain in Europe 1789–1914* (New York, 1937), p. 303; Jomini, I, 128; Charles de Nesselrode, *Lettres et papiers du Chancelier Comte Charles de Nesselrode 1760–1856* (11 vols., Paris, 1904–12), X, 81–118.

[19] Temperley, p. 304. Brunnow was Russian ambassador to Great Britain.

[20] E. L. Woodward, *The Age of Reform, 1815–1870* (Oxford, 1938), p. 245.

[21] A. J. P. Taylor, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848–1918* (Oxford, 1954), pp. 49–50.

[22] When the issue was raised in 1819, negotiations dragged on until the whole question became lost in the struggle of Greek independence. See Arnaud, *Napoléon III,* p. 96; and Woodward, p. 245.

[23] Senior, I, 159.

[24] Marriott, p. 255; Stanley Lane-Poole, *Life of Stratford Canning* (2 vols., London, 1888), II, 483; Fialin Duc de Persigny, *Mémoires du Duc de Persigny* (Paris, 1896), p. 225; Theodor Schiemann, *Geschichte Russlands unter Kaiser Nikolaus I* (4 vols., Berlin, 1919), IV, 251; Karl Marx, *The Eastern Question* (London, 1897), pp. 247–48; Alfred Bourguet, "La France et la Russie de 1848 à 1854," *Rev. d'hist. dipl.,* XXVIII (1914), 208; Woodward, p. 244; Emile Bourgeois, *History of Modern France, 1815–1913* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1922), II, 28–29.

[25] Jomini, I, 62–63.

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that he consciously acted in behalf of the clerical party. Unfortunately, in this context it could hardly help becoming an action against Russia.

As late as February, 1853, Walewski and Clarendon agreed that Britain would stay neutral, reserving Anglo-French co-operation in Near Eastern affairs until after peaceful termination of points currently at issue. The Russians were also counting on British "impartiality and assurances."[26] However, British interests in the Ottoman Empire were so extensive that she could not afford to see any serious change. Amid darkening clouds, Britain's ambassador, Stratford de Redcliffe, returned to Constantinople.[27] On February 25, 1853, Clarendon had instructed Redcliffe to explain to the sultan that the British government feared the Ottoman Empire was in danger since he (the sultan) could not effectively control his nation's policies at home and abroad. Ironically, this had been the tsar's major argument in conversations with Seymour—a view that the British had found repulsive when expressed by Nicholas I.[28]

The position of the tsar as defender of the Orthodox Church complicated matters. Despite warning from Thouvenel that for Russia the question was one of life or death, it is certain that Louis Napoleon did not fully realize Nicholas could not retreat.[29] The best advice the tsar received was to be firm with the sultan, thereby upholding the Ottoman Empire against French influence and threats. Russia would then appear as defender of the status quo.[30] Rioting mobs in Constantinople, Jerusalem, and St. Petersburg asked whether "millions of Greeks" were to stand quietly and "be robbed by these wretched Turks to gratify a few French tourists."[31] It was imperative that Nicholas take some action to restore his influence in the East without creating a European conflict. In early February, 1853, Austria's Count Leiningen demanded concessions from the sultan. This suggested an answer for Nich-

[26] Charles Frederick Vitzthum von Eckstaedt, *Saint Petersburg and London in the Years 1852–64* (2 vols., Eng. trans., London, 1887), I, 71–72. Aberdeen had even tried to restrain French policy. See Jomini, I, 116–17; Nesselrode, X, 216.

[27] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates,* 3d Ser., CXXVI, 374; La Gorce, *Second Empire,* I, 171; Woodward, p. 242. Redcliffe was regarded as the Britisher who best knew the area.

[28] Marx, *Eastern Question,* pp. 298–99; "Eastern Papers, 1854," *British Parliamentary Papers,* 1885, LXV, Part V, gives a full record of conversations between Nicholas and Britain's ambassador, and the correspondence of January–April, 1853.

[29] James Howard Harris, Earl of Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister* (2 vols., London, 1884), I, 376, 396; Gaston Raindre, ed., "Les Papiers inédits du Comte Walewski," *Rev. de France,* V (1925), 90–91; Bourguet, p. 208; Goriainov, *Bosphore,* p. 92; Thouvenel, pp. 1–2. Louis Napoleon was not nearly as well advised on the East as the British were.

[30] S. M. Goriainov, "The Secret Agreement of 1844 between Russia and Great Britain," *Russian Rev.,* I (1912), 76–77 (dispatch of Dec. 20, 1852, from Brunnow); A. M. Zaionchovsky, *Vostochnaia voina 1853–1856 gg. v sviazi s sovremennoi ei politicheskoi obstanovkoi* (2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1908–12), I, 348.

[31] Bourgeois, II, 31.

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olas, who only wanted a diplomatic success. In St. Petersburg early in 1853, both a declaration of war against the Ottoman Empire and a surprise occupation of the Danubian principalities were regarded as inconvenient courses to pursue.[32]

Redcliffe proved his ability by keeping the specific items of difference distinct from theoretical questions and arranging on May 4, 1853, a satisfactory settlement.[33] Further diplomacy revolved about other points, which bears out the report from Russia by the French ambassador, Castelbajac, that the dispute over Holy Places was in itself insignificant.[34] In fact, its role in causing the war was limited to producing a serious diplomatic rivalry between France and Russia. To suggest a greater significance, or to suggest that aggrandizement was the motive behind the tsar's sponsorship of the Orthodox position would be erroneous.[35] Many other factors were involved in the crisis.

The Menshikov mission and the occupation of the principalities were commonly regarded as betraying Russia's real designs in the East. The cumulative results, however, of a century of research have led to a less obvious but more rational explanation. Although these important events have been treated from many points of view, there has been no definitive monograph on either. Edmond Bapst's work on the Menshikov mission is the best to date.[36]

The Menshikov mission (March–May, 1853) appears to have been nothing more than a bluff by the tsar. Bluffing, indeed, seemed to be the order of the day. During earlier phases of negotiations on the Holy Places, Lavalette had used threats to bolster the French argument; and the Austrians had just succeeded in a mission identical to that of Menshikov. A show of force was getting results for those who used it.[37] In the Danish Question direct threats by Russia had produced the armistice of Malmo. Upon its expiration, a Russian naval demonstration brought about the Conference of London in

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 31–33; Thouvenel, pp. 126–27; Zaionchovsky, I, 357–58; Michael T. Florinsky, *Russia: A History and an Interpretation* (2 vols., New York, 1953), II, 863.

[33] Lane-Poole, II, 249–51; La Gorce, *Second Empire,* I, 172; *Hansard,* CXXIV, 1636–38, CXXVII, 712–13; Marriott, p. 260.

[34] Thouvenel, pp. 115–16.

[35] Temperley, p. 280; Arnaud, p. 95. Robert C. Binkley's *Realism and Nationalism, 1852–1871* (New York, 1935), p. 168, sees the Holy Places dispute as being responsible for the end of the Concert of Europe. Seton-Watson, p. 304. The idea of tsarist imperialism has been accepted by Soviet Russia. See Nechkina, II, 408.

[36] E. Bapst, pp. 345–81. See also Thouvenel, pp. 88–163; Zaionchovsky, I, 378–452.

[37] To say that the object was to "terrorize" the Ottoman Empire (Nechkina, II, 409) seems a bit strong. See Temperley, pp. 301–303. Leiningen's mission comprised demands regarding Turkish troop locations and religious problems in Bosnia. Mange (pp. 22–23) sees a policy of force and persuasion, a counter-move to Europe's recognition of an "upstart" emperor and loss of some privileges by Greek monks because of French threats. Binkley (*Realism and Nationalism*) makes no mention of the demands of Leiningen. See also Taylor, pp. 51, 53, 595, whose interpretations follow Temperley closely.

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1852.[38] The odds did seem to favor faith in a policy of force, particularly when the threatening party had just saved most of Europe from the throes of revolution by its use. Castelbajac quoted Nicholas as saying that he had only the "menaces de la force matérielle" at hand, and that Nicholas took no additional measures of real preparation amply demonstrates he did not actually intend to go to war.[39]

Nesselrode had suggested Orlov or Kisselev if a special emissary were to be sent to reassert Russian influence, but Nicholas chose Menshikov because his close personal relationship with the tsar would insure his recognition as more than merely a person under the minister of foreign affairs.[40] One of the tsar's ablest and most confidential agents, Prince Menshikov had "all the courage of a soldier and all the arrogance and finesse of a Russian. . . . [On occasion nothing could be] softer than his manner or more overbearing than his pretensions."[41] He was admirably suited to give his errand the "studied insolence" which the tsar felt the situation demanded.[42]

The arrival of Menshikov at Constantinople was accompanied by peremptory demands and arrogance. At Russia's request, Fuad Effendi, the Ottoman foreign minister who had actually given the keys to the French, was retired.[43] Excitement ran high as Menshikov presented his emperor's views on the Holy Places. These were quickly dealt with, and it momentarily appeared that further friction was to be avoided. Menshikov then presented a new note, virtually an ultimatum, demanding a treaty which would confirm Russian protection of all Greek Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire. The firmness of this presentation can be attributed, at least in part, to Redcliffe, who informed Menshikov, now inclined to be conciliatory, that the Turks would give in if the demand were brusquely stated.[44] This demand of protective rights in itself was nothing new: it had been vaguely understood by everyone since 1774, and as late as November, 1852, the Russian envoy at Constantinople, d'Ozerov, had put the claim in unmistakable language to the French ambassador.[45] That it now came as a shock must be

[38] Jomini, I, 26–27, 43–44.

[39] Thouvenel, pp. 128–29; Zaionchovsky, I, 369; Arthur William Kinglake, *The Invasion of the Crimea: Its Origin and an Account of Its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan* (6 vols., London, 1863–80), I, 78.

[40] Jomini, II, 162; Kinglake, I, 78. Menshikov was accompanied by Prince Galitzin, Vice Admiral Khorniloff (aides-de-camp of the tsar), General Nikapotchinski, and Count Dimitri de Nesselrode, son of the chancellor. Thouvenel, p. 91.

[41] Senior, I, 151.

[42] Frederick A. Simpson, *Louis Napoleon and the Recovery of France, 1848–1856* (London, 1923), pp. 223–24.

[43] *Hansard*, CXXIX, 1792; Taylor, p. 52.

[44] Bourgeois, II, 36.

[45] *Annual Register* (1853), p. 234.

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attributed to existing tension and the fact that neither diplomats nor the public were informed about the tsar's real objects, in spite of his frank and friendly answers to all questions on the subject![46] Actually, Menshikov had brought up this general claim on April 19.[47] When Redcliffe kept the two questions separate, and then helped the Turks settle the dispute regarding the Holy Places, he left Menshikov with only half of his case, the half with vague foundations.[48] Had he returned to Russia then, no real impression would have been made on the sultan. With rejection of the offer, Menshikov returned to Russia, and the whole Russian legation followed him.[49] He had created his impression; the bluff had been made—and called!

Why had the Turks refused? The most popular answer has been that Menshikov's claims were incompatible with Ottoman independence and that the Turks could not accept his demands. Temperley feels that, having yielded twice to the French in 1852 and to the Austrians in 1853, they would not have yielded to anyone a fourth time. It must be remembered that two of the demands of Count Leiningen had been refused and that after consideration he had backed down, also that the French had never claimed or demanded political protection of Ottoman Roman Catholics.[50] Finally, there were personalities involved. Redcliffe's preponderance at Constantinople invited suspicion. Nesselrode became convinced that it was really Redcliffe who "reigned and governed" in the Ottoman Empire; in Paris Thouvenel reached the same conclusion.[51] Redcliffe's temper was common knowledge. Malmesbury felt that his ability was beyond question but that he could be used only in a peculiar type of dispute. For managing the Turks he was admirably suited because he dealt in terms they understood—in reality it was "Sultan versus Sultan."[52] Short-tempered men were working to solve problems that de-

[46] For doubt about whether Nicholas I or anyone at this point could state precisely what the Russian aims were, see Nesselrode, X, 223. Manteuffel advised the tsar to disavow Menshikov (Thouvenel, p. 169). *Hansard,* CXXVI, 378.

[47] E. Bapst, pp. 361–62. He had not then insisted on a prompt response regarding protective rights and a treaty because he wanted to get the specific issues of the Holy Places dispute settled.

[48] Marriott, p. 256.

[49] E. Bapst, p. 381. Menshikov believed when he landed at Odessa that, after the Turks thought matters over, they would send after him and submit to his demands. Brunnow had reported to Nesselrode (Feb. 21, 1853) that Aberdeen said that, right or wrong regarding the facts of the dispute, the British would advise the Turks to yield. See Zaionchovsky, I, 368; and especially Adolphus Slade, *Turkey and the Crimean War* (London, 1867), pp. 183–84.

[50] Temperley, pp. 301–303, 511; Taylor, pp. 51–53; Mange, p. 28. One of these was the demand of Austria to protect Christians in Bosnia.

[51] Temperley (p. 513) accepts Lane-Poole's (II, 250–70) account of Redcliffe's role. See Nesselrode, X, 232; Thouvenel, p. 99; Woodward, p. 243. The tsar and Kinglake (I, chaps. 9–11) were Redcliffe's most outspoken critics. See also Florinsky, II, 869; and Binkley, pp. 171–73.

[52] Malmesbury, I, 307. Lane-Poole comments that "the truth was that the matter was too important for temper, and Lord Stratford in matters of state always knew when he did well to be angry . . ." (II, 255).

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manded the utmost in patience and understanding. Menshikov and Colonel Rose, the British attaché, were numbered among the "three most violent men in Europe, and . . . it would be extraordinary indeed if they could come in contact without an explosion."[53] Another quarrelsome personality was added when General Baraguay d'Hilliers arrived as the new French ambassador.[54] To expect peace from men of this sort was, perhaps, too much of a hope.

When the Menshikov mission failed, Nicholas turned to a second bluff and ordered troops into the principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia). Nesselrode had given due notice of this action as early as May 19, 1853, in a note to Reshid Pasha explaining that the tsar had no aggressive designs but was simply assuring Russia some material guarantees in case of further negotiations.[55] On July 2, 1853, he wrote that it was also a necessary step to counteract the undue influence of the allied fleets which hovered outside the Dardanelles.[56] This occupation appeared to be the first step in a dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire along lines which the British reported that Nicholas had suggested to Seymour.[57] Actually, however, six years earlier, Russia could have taken virtually anything she wanted in this area.

The British government was now deeply disturbed, and Clarendon announced in parliament on August 8, 1853, that the immediate and complete evacuation of the principalities was regarded by Her Majesty's government as a *sine qua non* of any settlement or agreement. When Danubian tribute and gold normally sent to the sultan was diverted to Russian use, Redcliffe decided that the work of British consuls in the provinces could not properly continue.[58] The Austrian government was immediately aroused, to the tsar's amazement, and moved swiftly in the diplomatic field, actively promoting a conference to iron things out.[59] Russia's apologist (Jomini) correctly noted that the occupation violated no specific agreements and did not necessitate a war; Russian intervention in case of internal disturbances was even provided for by treaty. The action belongs in the same category as French aid in the war of Greek independence, French and British participation in the issue of Belgian independence, and the French expedition against Ancona. Even the

[53] *John Bull* (London), Mar. 26, 1853.

[54] Joseph Alexander von Hübner, *Neun Jahre der Erinnerungen eines Österreichischen Botschaters in Paris unter dem Zweiten Kaiserreich 1851–1859* (2 vols., Berlin, 1904), I, 94.

[55] Zaionchovsky, I, 442. Russian intrigue simultaneously was meeting with success in Denmark.

[56] Nesselrode, X, 246–48.

[57] Alfred Rambaud, *The History of Russia, from the Earliest Times to 1877* (2 vols., New York, 1886), II, 247–50.

[58] *Hansard,* CXXIX, 1137–39, 1418–26. Palmerston expressed the view temporarily that the occupation should be regarded as a *casus belli.* Charles Greville, *The Greville Memoirs,* ed. Henry Reeve (8 vols., London, 1887), Part III (1852–60), I, 71.

[59] Simpson, p. 227; *Hansard,* CXXIX, 1162–63.

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Ottoman Empire did not regard it as a cause for war at the outset.[60] Meanwhile, excitement began to run high in Britain. In France Drouyn de Lhuys was still hopeful of a peaceful solution, while from the security of retirement Guizot thought it was all really nothing very serious. Redcliffe had his hands full trying to restrain the Turks, who were being whipped into a fanatical frenzy for a religious war. For all the misguided good intentions of the tsar, Russian troops in the principalities had more to do with the outbreak of war than any other single incident.[61] By taking Menshikov's threatening appearances and the tsar's demands literally, thereby closing the door to Nicholas' solution, the Ottoman Empire and the rest of Europe forced him to further action and ultimately promoted a war which Nicholas had not wanted and had actually sought to prevent. Examination of Great Britain's position will make this even more apparent.

## II

The most brilliantly written indictment of responsibility for the war is to be found in A. W. Kinglake's *The Invasion of the Crimea.*[62] Kinglake saw the Crimean War as having mainly derived from the deliberate machinations of Napoleon III. In his famous chapter fourteen (I, 142–209) he presents Louis Napoleon as the master conspirator, overthrowing representative institutions and resorting to violence to further his egocentric ends. Having recently achieved power, Louis must "distract France from thinking of her shame at home, by sending her attention abroad. For their very lives' sake they had to make haste, and to pile up events which might stand between them and the past." Purely as a matter of life or death, "if Prince Louis . . . were to continue quartered upon France instead of being thrown into prison and brought to trial, it was indispensable that Europe should be disturbed."[63] He put pressure on the sultan, trying to force him into a quarrel with the tsar. By taking a conservative position in the dispute, Louis Napoleon would be at Britain's side and, if a British alliance were formed, the moral effect would be to lend special sanctification to his ill-gotten throne.[64] This

[60] Jomini, I, 210–13.

[61] Simpson, p. 227; Gayot, p. 287; Marcel Handelsman, "La Guerre de Crimée, la question polonaise et les origines du problème bulgare," *Rev. hist.*, CLXIX (1932), 271–72. Also Temperley, pp. 333, 512.

[62] See n. 39 above. Indictment found in Vol. I (4th ed., 1874). The first complete edition came out between 1863 and 1880. Kinglake enjoyed the reputation of being a master of stylish prose. His *Eothen*, a real masterpiece, had appeared in 1844. See William Tuckwell, *A. W. Kinglake* (London, 1902), pp. 20–32, 57.

[63] Kinglake, *Invasion*, I, 210.

[64] *Ibid.*, pp. 210–11, 213.

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policy was successful; he not only created a crisis and achieved his British alliance but he was able to control the movements of the British navy and lead his ally into war. Ambiguity characterized his relations with both the British and the Russians. Napoleon III, then, was the great architect of destruction and duplicity—as Kinglake surveyed the scene.[65] Puryear's ideas paralleled the observation of Karl Marx that Louis Napoleon, as Kinglake claimed, had the frightening alternative of war abroad or revolution at home.[66] While Napoleon III was flattering Princess de Lieven, a Russian informant, he could be jovial with Redcliffe and send a proponent of an Austro-French alliance to Constantinople. At the same time, Prussia's representative at Constantinople was co-operating closely with French policy. The *Pays* regarded French interests as vital in the East while the *Constitutionnel* found only the interests of others at stake.[67] The French emperor's checking of several lines of possible action[68] was enough to lend a semblance of truth to Kinglake's narrative.

In 1878, Alexandre Jomini's *Etude diplomatique sur la guerre de Crimée (1852 à 1856)* presented the Russian apologia.[69] This source saw Louis Napoleon's need for security. "To do nothing would be fatal to him; he felt this, and wished to live." The alliance of Prussia, Russia, and Austria must be broken. A war must be found with Russia (the backbone of the alliance) on such grounds that Austria and Prussia would not feel their interests involved. The East provided the opportunity—here were areas outside the guarantees of 1815 where Austrian and Russian ambitions would clash—and so here Louis Napoleon found the opening for which he was searching.[70] Emile Ollivier adopted this same theme in Volume III of his *L'Empire libéral*[71] but expanded it to include the Italian policy of Napoleon III. Rather than an attack on the emperor, Ollivier finds the destruction of the Holy Alliance a masterpiece of diplomacy and deliberate statesmanship, keyed to

[65] Nesselrode, X, 227–28; Tuckwell, p. 81.

[66] Marx, *Eastern Question*, p. 269; Vernon J. Puryear, *England, Russia, and the Straits Question, 1844–1856* (Berkeley, 1931), pp. 242–46.

[67] Marx, *Eastern Question*, pp. 12–13; Thouvenel, pp. 108–109. See Jomini, I, 503–506, for Russian suspicions of French influence at Vienna.

[68] Malmesbury, I, 243–45, 349–50; Puryear, *Straits Question*, p. 246; Paul Matter, "Missions de M. de Persigny à Berlin (1849–1850)," *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, XII (1898), 67–75. Woodward (p. 248) saw this weighing of possibilities as being "no less vacillating" than Aberdeen and concluded that Napoleon III and his advisers were, after all, "unfamiliar with the conduct of large affairs of state."

[69] See n. 5 above. Originally written in 1863, it contains virtually no documentation and events are not dated adequately. A London translation entitled *Diplomatic Study on the Crimean War* (2 vols., 1878), claimed to be Russia's official version. See Alexandre Onou, "Correspondance inédite du Baron Alexandre de Jomini," *Rev. d'hist. mod.*, X (1935), 373–74.

[70] Jomini, I, 110–11, 262.

[71] 17 vols., Paris, 1895–1917. Very sketchily documented.

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the unification of Italy.[72] Some basis for this impression could be found in Marshal Canrobert's testimony and in conversations of Granier de Cassagnac with Persigny and the emperor.[73] In his published works Louis Napoleon had clearly stated the three basic principles that would support his "grand système fédératif européen"—popular sovereignty, natural frontiers, and respect for nationalities.[74] Europe trembled and waited for a European Second of December.[75]

There has been one other attack on Napoleon III as the instigator of the war. Vely Pasha, Ottoman ambassador to France, believed that the war was fostered to gain respect for the empress. By manipulating events to win recognition from Queen Victoria, he could rise above the social ostracism which his unorthodox marriage had gained for him among other European nobility.[76] With the visit to Windsor, Napoleon III achieved his objective; it was no coincidence that he was then ready to end the war. His plans to go to the Crimea can be seen as a threat to force this recognition. Actually, his position vis-à-vis the rest of Europe's nobility was not due to his marriage but rather to his election to office and power. The marriage, at least in Russia, was accepted as in harmony with his past and met with none of the consternation with which it was received in France itself.[77] However, this interpretation has not been seriously documented nor widely accepted, and need not detain us further. Most historians have found that to handle effectively any phase of the early period of Crimean War diplomacy, they must first accept or explain the contagious influence of Kinglake, probing the facts which support his contentions.

Hamley politely evaluated Kinglake's thesis as "only a surmise for which it would be difficult to adduce proof."[78] Others have been more outspoken. Rank bitterness can be found in Blanchard Jerrold's apologetic *Life of Na-*

[72] Ollivier, III, 96–136, 162–90. See also Pierre Rain, "Les relations franco-russes sous le Second Empire," *Rev. des études hist.*, LXXIX (1913), 629–31.

[73] Cassagnac, II, 229, 245–46; Constant Germain Bapst, *Le Maréchal Canrobert: souvenirs d'un siècle* (6 vols., Paris, 1910–14), II, 14–15. See also Slade, chap. I.

[74] Napoléon-Louis Bonaparte, *Des idées napoléoniennes* (Paris, 1860); *Works of Napoleon III* (2 vols., London, 1852), I, 161–85; and *Idées politiques*, written in 1832. See also Pierre de La Gorce, *Napoléon III et sa politique* (Paris, 1933); Paul-Emile Schazmann, "Napoléon III, précurseur de la société des nations," *Rev. hist.*, CLXXIX (1937), 368–71; J. Dontenville, "Les idées napoléoniennes: la politique extérieure de Napoléon III," *Rev. des études napoléoniennes*, XXI (1923), 190–217; and Albert Pinguard's "La politique extérieure du Second Empire," *Rev. hist.*, CLVI (1927), 41–68; and "Une page de la politique secrète de Napoléon III," *Rev. de France*, XI (1931), 417–39.

[75] Senior, I, 134. Thiers commented, "All that they beg is not to be attacked. At that price he may do what he likes. . . ." See also Eckstaedt, I, 70–71, 136–37.

[76] Albert D. Vandam, *Undercurrents of the Second Empire: Notes and Recollections* (London, 1895), pp. 129–33, 144–46.

[77] Nesselrode, X, 215.

[78] Edward Bruce Hamley, *The War in the Crimea* (London, 1891), p. 15.

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*poleon III*, where we are told that the emperor's reaction to Kinglake's work was, "C'est ignoble!"[79] Jerrold, however, does not produce evidence refuting the charges but simply points out that other men carried out repressive measures in 1851, among them friends of Kinglake in Austria and Italy, and asks why these were not featured for a "sensation chapter."[80]

The problem has been to ascertain what specific source material Kinglake used for his attack on Louis Napoleon. That it was not based on the papers of Raglan, his main source, is obvious. On this point Kinglake tells us:

> . . . so far as concerns that part of the work which is based upon unpublished writings or private information—and this applies to an important part of the first, and to nearly the whole of the second volume—I in general make no reference to the grounds on which I rely. Hereafter it may be otherwise; but, for the present, this portion of the book must rest upon what, after all, is the chief basis of our historical knowledge—must rest upon the statement of one who had good means of knowing the truth. In the meanwhile, I shall keep and leave ready the clew by which in some later time, and without farther aid from me, my statements may by traced by their sources.[81]

The clue has not been forthcoming in over sixty years. A diligent search by Simpson and two of Kinglake's closest relatives unearthed nothing and the publishers of both Kinglake and Tuckwell had no information to offer. Before his death Kinglake expressly instructed that most of his papers be destroyed. We must then conclude, with Simpson, that his most telling charges against Napoleon III "rest now only on the *ipse dixit* of a writer who broke his promise to substantiate them."[82] This insinuation of a character defect gains strength as one recalls that Kinglake "was in 1868 unseated [from parliament] on petition for bribery on the part of his agents."[83] Besides being undocumented for this important portion, Kinglake's work was quite possibly written with a deliberate personal bias. He had competed unsuccessfully with Louis Napoleon for the favor of "Miss Howard." Relatives of Kinglake indicated this was common knowledge to older members of the family. That she preferred to be Louis Napoleon's mistress rather than Mrs. Kinglake is perhaps a very real clue to the spirit in which he wrote.[84]

[79] 4 vols., 1874–82. See Appendix, IV, 535–38.

[80] Jerrold quotes (*ibid.*, p. 537) with relish the following comment of a critical reviewer (*Fraser's Magazine*, LXVIII [1863], 63–76) of Kinglake's fourteenth chapter, "We cannot help thinking that a ruined speculator, a literary Orleanist, a broken soldier in Brussels, and a faded beauty, must have sat in committee to accumulate facts for this wonderful chapter."

[81] Kinglake, I, xxiv.

[82] Simpson, p. 382; Tuckwell, p. vi.

[83] Tuckwell, p. 44.

[84] *Ibid.*, pp. 31–32, 144; Simpson, p. 382; Woodward, p. 623. Kinglake's comment on Gladstone might reveal the bent of his mind. He suspected that Gladstone regarded him as an enemy and so he judged him to be ". . . a good man in the worst sense of the term, conscientious with a diseased conscience."

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Living and writing when he did, Kinglake could easily have found solid evidence against the opinion he presented. The disarmament proposal made by Louis Napoleon in 1849[85] finds no place in his work. On December 4, 1853, Marshal de Castellane recorded his conviction that the emperor sincerely wanted peace, and nearly two months later Greville noted the delaying tactics of Napoleon III and his reluctance to go to war.[86] The correspondence of Britain's ambassador to France, Lord Cowley, completely shatters Kinglake's thesis. Napoleon III repeatedly told Cowley that he would not send a single soldier to the Ottoman Empire, and he had not increased his army as late as November, 1853.[87] The strength of the British alliance even "dragged [him] towards the war by the fact that he must side with England and not with Russia."[88] On January 4, 1854, Cowley reported to Clarendon that the instructions of Baraguay d'Hilliers had been "to preach peace." Cowley concluded that Napoleon III had no settled policy, let alone one that called for forcing war on Europe.[89] Cowley's papers go far to expose the charges of Kinglake as "grotesquely inaccurate"[90] and also present obvious objections to the recent view of A. J. P. Taylor in this context that "Napoleon III could not resist the appeal of adventure."[91]

All writers on diplomacy preceding the Crimean War explain the tension created by the resurrection of the Napoleonic dynasty. There are no important questions of specific matters of fact yet to be answered. Even on the slippery aspect of the motives of all concerned, there is general agreement.[92] The pertinent testimonies of Eckstaedt and Hübner are invaluable in under-

[85] Henderson, pp. 146–50.

[86] Victor E. B. de Castellane, *Journal du Maréchal de Castellane 1804–1862* (5 vols., 3d ed., Paris, 1897), V, 25. Greville, Part III, I, 130–31. Guizot felt that Napoleon III didn't really want war until 1856, thus giving the nation two years of prosperity and the Exposition of 1855. See Gayot, p. 388. Also Kurt Jagow, ed., *Letters of the Prince Consort, 1831–1861* (New York, 1938), pp. 207–208. Albert wrote, "We shall now not be able to avoid war, and in this pass we find our neighbour and only ally in anything but a war-like mood."

[87] Henry R. C. Wellesley, the first Earl Cowley, *The Paris Embassy during the Second Empire*, ed. F. A. Wellesley (London, 1928), p. 32; Victor Wellesley and Robert Sencourt, *Conversations with Napoleon III* (London, 1934), pp. 51–52 (Cowley to Clarendon, Nov. 11, 21, 1853, and Jan. 13, 1854).

[88] Wellesley and Sencourt, p. 50.

[89] Temperley, p. 508. When news of the Ottoman rejection of the Vienna Note, a compromise, reached Paris, Napoleon III was disappointed and displeased. The rejection led to the startling revelation that the tsar had agreed only because he thought the note was a simple restatement of his position. Negotiations were to continue in Vienna off and on throughout the war. Simpson, p. 231; Cowley, p. 30.

[90] Marriott, p. 265.

[91] Taylor, p. 53.

[92] Franklin C. Palm, *England and Napoleon III* (Durham, N. C., 1948), pp. ix–x, 170–71. In a minority opinion based largely on Puryear and Malmesbury, Palm sees British recognition given to obtain French collaboration in the Near East and to induce Louis Napoleon to abandon the protective system. The paucity of correspondence of Napoleon III which has survived is a major source problem. See Taylor, pp. 574, 584.

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standing the maze of diplomacy necessary in the recognition of Europe's "parvenu."[93]

Napoleon III is most seriously open to criticism for sending the French fleet to the Near East. Here Kinglake appears vindicated to some extent. Acting alone did put Britain on the spot and undoubtedly led the British cabinet later to assume that French action did not depend upon British aid and support. However, sending the French fleet did not force Great Britain to follow suit, as the British fleet had recently been in the East.[94] Napoleon III had to do something in the face of the arrogant appearance of Menshikov. Failure to act in foreign affairs had cost Louis Philippe his throne. The Napoleonic program could not allow Russian ultimatums to be meekly accepted,[95] and he could take no chances that a minor Russian success might appear as a defeat for France and himself. Castelbajac's report that Russia genuinely did not want war appeared to minimize the real danger in the situation and tended to encourage Napoleon III to more forthright action.[96]

The entrance of the allied fleets into the Black Sea hastened declarations of war. The basic question here is, who was responsible for the presence of these fleets in the Black Sea? This was a clear violation of the status quo and the Straits Convention of 1841.[97] While at the time Nesselrode did not feel that entry of the Anglo-French fleet in itself was to be considered as a cause of war, René Arnaud has interpreted this act as "virtually a declaration of war."[98] Puryear has followed Jomini in placing the blame on Redcliffe, showing that Redcliffe "engineered" a violation of the Straits Convention in 1849 and was working to the same end in 1853. Sencourt has the same general view of Redcliffe's actions, and Simpson is only a shade less critical, while Soviet historians have labeled Redcliffe the "chief instigator of the struggle against Russia."[99] Redcliffe's personal grudge against the tsar combines with his notorious temper to form the backdrop for such criticism. Nesselrode be-

[93] Eckstaedt, I, 10–13. At a Christmas parade, 1852, the tsar orally reproached representatives of Austria and Prussia in front of Russian generals for having deserted him on the matter of Napoleon III's recognition. Hübner (I, 5, 85, 93) reveals efforts of Persigny to win Austria to French views. For a host of other documentation, see Zaionchovsky, I, 190–332; Cowley, p. 10; Malmesbury, I, 297–98. A serious biography of Walewski still needs to be written.

[94] Woodward, p. 253; Bourguet, p. 207. Louis Napoleon had assured the British of support from the French fleet in 1849.

[95] Puryear, *Straits Question*, pp. 242–44; Baron d'Amable G. P. Brugière, *Souvenirs du Baron de Barante, 1782–1866* (8 vols., Paris, 1890–1901), VIII, 57. For the view that the war was really forced on Napoleon III, see Charlemagne Emile Maupas, *Mémoires sur le Second Empire* (2 vols., Paris, 1884), II, 35–39.

[96] Temperley, p. 508; Thouvenel, p. 177; Bourgeois, II, 34.

[97] Goriainov, *Bosphore*, pp. 92–95; Bourguet, pp. 218–19. Hamley (p. 17) sees Napoleon III joining Britain in the Eastern Question.

[98] Nesselrode, X, 212–13; Arnaud, p. 96.

[99] Puryear, *Straits Question*, pp. 139–88 (heavily documented). Robert Sencourt, *Napoleon III: The Modern Emperor* (London, 1933), p. 150; Simpson, p. 239; Nechkina, II, 409.

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lieved Redcliffe's aim to be the humiliation of Russia, although Brunnow had reported (in language of amazement) that Redcliffe really wanted the tsar to like him and had seemed friendly.[100] Temperley has taken up the argument in defense of Redcliffe and very critically and skillfully treats Puryear's major points. Redcliffe emerges from Temperley's accounts as a conscientious worker for peace who earnestly sought to prevent violations of the Straits Convention.[101] Aberdeen and Clarendon were embarrassed by the failure of the Menshikov mission; but, as Nesselrode noted, much as they may have disliked Redcliffe, they neither controlled him nor had the courage to disavow his actions.[102] It now appears that as a result of Redcliffe's influence and participation in Ottoman affairs, the Turks themselves concluded that "in the last resort, Great Britain would save them from destruction."[103] The dust has not yet settled on this issue and more work remains to be done. Investigation is needed on the transfer of initiative to Ottoman hands in the matter of allowing the fleets in the Black Sea, refusing the Vienna Note, and actually declaring war. An accurate account of Redcliffe's activities at Constantinople would elucidate the entire picture.[104] Napoleon III clearly was not the central figure in these issues.

Scholarship on the indictment presented against Napoleon III has led to the conclusion that: (1) Kinglake's view is subject to very severe criticism; (2) Napoleon III sincerely regretted the coming of the war; and (3) his guilt is confined to continuing French sponsorship of the Latin Christians in the dispute over the Holy Places and to taking the lead in sending the French fleet to Besika Bay.

During its first year the war had little popularity within France.[105] The idea that the war was being fought for British interests, rather than French, spread rapidly.[106] The duc de Pasquier went so far as to see Great Britain

[100] Lane-Poole, II, 18 ff.; Nesselrode, X, 278; Zaionchovsky, I, 368; Louis Thouvenel, *Pages de l'Histoire du Second Empire* (Paris, 1903), p. 99.

[101] Temperley, pp. 499–506. Also by Temperley, "Stratford de Redcliffe and the Origins of the Crimean War," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLVIII (1933), 601–21, XLIX (1934), 265–98; and "The Alleged Violations of the Straits Convention by Stratford de Redcliffe between June and September, 1853," *ibid.*, XLIX (1934), 657–72. Woodward (pp. 242–54) follows Temperley.

[102] Nesselrode, X, 229–30.

[103] Woodward, p. 244.

[104] Marx, *Eastern Question*, p. 143. Virtually all general accounts survey the negotiations at Vienna and the famous Ottoman refusal, with Redcliffe again in a position of suspicion. The only attempt to portray fully Redcliffe's role at Constantinople as a basic factor in the origins of the war is the unpublished thesis of Leland Livingston Sage, "Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and the Origins of the Crimean War" (University of Illinois, 1932), which tends to exonerate Redcliffe.

[105] Rain, "Relations franco-russes," pp. 631–35; Malmesbury, I, 413–14. Simpson, p. 242; Cowley, p. 39; Lynn M. Case, *French Opinion on War and Diplomacy during the Second Empire* (Philadelphia, 1954), pp. 19–33.

[106] Senior, I, 214, 222. In his *Causes de la Guerre d'Orient* (Paris, 1854), Eugène Forcade

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simply using French soldiers against Russia as she had used Russian troops against France forty years earlier.[107] This view, so completely opposed to that of Kinglake, leads us now to examine the research on the strictly Anglo-Russian background of the crisis.

## III

An examination of Great Britain's part in the diplomatic prelude to the Crimean War raises a multitude of issues far more complex than is the case with France. Basic among these is the commercial life of Britain during the twenty years prior to 1854 and its influence on foreign policy.

Karl Marx pointed out that the Black Sea was a basic element in European trade, two thirds of Europe using it in the process of exchanging goods. Through Constantinople and Trebizond (in Asia Minor) British trade had rapidly increased until by 1852 Britain was an equal participant in areas that in 1840 were Russian monopolies. A commerical battlefield had been established and, since British trade depended on confidence in the power ruling the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, the diplomatic position of Great Britain could never be seriously in doubt. Russia clearly could not be expected to allow the door to remain open for British competition if it were in her power to close it. In his day, however, Marx was virtually alone.[108] No voice added documented support to his analysis until 1931 when Vernon J. Puryear's *England, Russia, and the Straits Question* appeared. Here Puryear summarized (pp. 76–138) the exhaustive study which was to follow, *International Economics and Diplomacy in the Near East* (1935). R. J. Kerner regarded the latter work as the "first thorough analysis of the economic background of the Crimean War."[109]

With painstaking documentation Puryear examined Anglo-Russian commerce and made a potent case, indeed, for economic determinism. His probe

aptly pointed out (pp. 287–92) that, while there might be some doubt about Constantinople's being the key to the route to India, there could be no doubt at all that it was a key to the Mediterranean. Its fall would upset the whole picture of European diplomacy and power. The French position as a Mediterranean, African, and European power was vitally at stake.

[107] Brugière, *Barante*, VIII, 65. Eckstaedt (I, 70–71, 133–35) shares Kinglake's view that Napoleon III duped the British into war.

[108] Marx, *Eastern Question*, pp. 14–19. Marx went on to predict the extension of the Russian western frontier as far as Trieste and Danzig—annexing Prussia, Hungary, and Galicia. See also Constantin de Grunwald, *La Vie de Nicolas Ier* (Paris, 1946), p. 283.

[109] Puryear, *International Economics*, p. v. Neither Seton-Watson (*Britain in Europe*) nor Temperley (*Crimea*) seriously accepted Puryear's economic analysis. In fact, this work by Puryear did not receive the recognition it merited. Reviews were lukewarm at best (William Miller in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLVII [1932], 322–25, and *ibid.*, LI [1936], 534–37, and Harry N. Howard in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLII [1936], 123–24), while the comments of F. S. Rodkey in the *Journal of Modern History*, VIII (1936), 112, were decidedly unfavorable.

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of the grain trade alone was illuminating. Up to 1840, British merchants dominated Russian markets. Russia sold more grain and other produce (1832–1840) to Britain than was needed to balance Russian purchases. The prosperity of Russian landlords, who strongly influenced the government, depended almost exclusively on their sale of wheat and other commodities to Great Britain.[110] Competition appeared after the treaty of Adrianople had freed Moldavia and Wallachia from the obligation to sell to the Turks at set prices. The principalities by 1840 were exporting wheat on British and Austrian ships to nations that had previously used Russian grain exclusively; and by 1851, the export of grain from Moldavia and Wallachia was equal to that exported by Russia. With this in mind, the Russian occupation of the principalities has added significance. Meanwhile, Russia's protective system was working to Britain's disadvantage. The British were being replaced in Russian domestic consumption; and, in the textile industry, producers of both nations were in direct competition. Ottoman consumption of British manufactured items grew at a tremendous rate after 1839. A Russo-Turkish competition developed for western European markets; both had the same products to sell, and in the competition the Russians were losing. Great Britain dominated both markets; but Russia was becoming a poorer customer and at the same time, a competitor. Russia had vast interests at stake. Outlets for her produce to world markets had to be kept open, besides meeting Ottoman competition. Britain had merely to choose between Russia or the Ottoman Empire as a permanent source of wheat. For years, Great Britain had debated what her policy toward Russia and the Near East should be. She might co-operate with Russia, peacefully partition the Ottoman Empire, and divide the trade of that area with Russia, being thus assured preponderance in Russian markets for decades; or she could support the Ottoman Empire, thereby jeopardizing the British trade with Russia but achieving a dominant position in the trade of the Near East and checking Russian commercial expansion. The two lines of action had their adherents, and the vacillation of British policy reflects this basic dilemma. The anti-Russian advocates of the second choice eventually won, and Great Britain found herself fighting for the Ottoman Empire. Thus Puryear explained British policy.[111] With no ap-

[110] Florinsky (II, 864) has not accepted this account. He states that the wheat export was "relatively insignificant and there is nothing to indicate that the grain exporters had any part in determining the Russian government's near-eastern policy."

[111] Puryear, *Straits Question,* pp. 76–138. French participation cannot be explained on the basis of economic interest. Her wine trade with Russia was being menaced by Greek and Hungarian competition, but Puryear decided (pp. 137–38) that this was not a pertinent factor. It might be noted that Aberdeen—as a proponent of friendship with Russia—does not fit very well the role Puryear assigns to him. The idea that Russian landlords wanted to enter the grain

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parent regard for the imposing array of evidence which Puryear presented, A. J. P. Taylor found these ideas "novel, if unreliable," while E. L. Woodward felt that Puryear's work contained "interesting material, though the conclusions drawn are often controversial."[112] Conflicting views are also held on Austria's economic interests. Puryear finds that Austria had more interests in common with Great Britain than with Russia. Her interest in Danubian shipping is obvious, and it was she who really forced the evacuation of the principalities. However, Austria had never co-operated with Great Britain in tariff matters and had even forced closure of Ottoman ports to the British.[113] Since the treaty of Adrianople, Russia had been responsible for keeping the mouth of the Danube open for traffic; but on numerous occasions silting occurred and Danubian exports virtually halted, resulting in British complaints and protests to the Russian foreign office.[114] Russia's government in 1940 accepted most of these economic factors as basic. The official Soviet account of nineteenth-century Russia (as of 1940) saw the Eastern Question as "above all a question of economic and political mastery in the eastern part of the Mediterranean and the adjoining basins." It pictured industrial capitalism as intensifying a feverish drive for foreign markets and noted that Great Britain was ahead of the rest of Europe in this respect. "An uninterrupted advance in the Near and Middle East became an essential condition to the growth of English capitalism." This pursuit of markets ran headlong into the "military and feudal aggressions of Tsarism" and the Crimean War was one of its products.[115]

Jomini tells us eloquently that foremost in the mind of Nicholas was the defense of order and stability, the principles of 1815. Russia was consistently interested in maintaining the status quo and tried to convince other governments of the value of this policy. She "certainly would not have been listened

markets of western Europe without competition from non-Russian grain grown in the Near East was informally suggested by R. J. Kerner, "Importance of Eastern European History," *Historical Outlook*, XV (1924), 343–47.

[112] Taylor, p. 595; Woodward, p. 621.

[113] Eugene Horvath, *Origins of the Crimean War: Documents Relative to the Russian Intervention in Hungary and Transylvania, 1848–1849* (Budapest, 1937), pp. 290–92; *Hansard*, CXXV, 154. One result of Leiningen's mission had been closure of Kleck and Sultorin, the only two ports of entry on the Adriatic that had been open to British trade at low Ottoman rates.

[114] *Hansard*, CXXVIII, 1088, 1373–75; Marx, *Eastern Question*, p. 138. This hindrance contributed to volume of business done at Odessa and affected the price of wheat.

[115] Nechkina, II, 315, 405–406. One voice of "English capitalism" was David Urquhart, writer of hosts of pamphlets on commerce in the Black Sea area and once secretary to the embassy at Constantinople. He was the first to declare that Britain's interests required support of the sultan and personally had negotiated the first British commercial treaty with the Ottoman Empire to recognize the latter's new position in British foreign trade. After Palmerston dismissed him, he became increasingly vocal and made irresponsible charges, equating his two objects of extreme hatred, Palmerston and Russia. See Dénes A. Jánossy, "Great Britain and Kossuth," *Archivum Europea Centro-Orientalis*, III (1937), 111–14.

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to, had she been the first to set the example of violating the treaties. . . . our political error did not consist in that. It consisted in the supposed *possibility* of maintaining this edifice of 1815 when it had finished its time."[116] Austria entertained close relationships with France[117] although she owed her very existence to Russian aid:

> Too much noise, however, has really been made about the ingratitude of Austria. Sentiments of this kind are scarcely admitted in politics. . . . If we counted on the gratitude of Austria, the fault was ours. . . . It was to be presumed that the interest of Austria was to maintain an alliance with us. Her existence depended upon it. Events have proved this, since by her conduct toward us in 1854, Austria prepared her expulsion from Italy and Germany.[118]

This early estimate that the real stake in the Crimean War was central Europe (Germany and Italy) and not the Ottoman Empire, was accurate.[119] The question has not been what was really involved but rather the matter of foresight and intent—especially since the outcome of the war redounded to the complete benefit of Napoleon III.

A keen observer was Count Vitzthum von Eckstaedt, Saxon representative in St. Petersburg while the storm was brewing and in London when it came. His testimony sheds interesting light on the diplomatic corps and the personal manner in which Nicholas conducted foreign affairs. When the tsar put his Fourth and Fifth Army Corps (on the Ottoman border) on a war footing, neither Orlov, head of the Third Section, Nesselrode, vice-chancellor and foreign minister, nor Dolgoruki, the war minister, knew about it. Word of the mission of Menshikov to Constantinople likewise reached the ears of foreign diplomats before Nesselrode knew of it. The tsar confided in the Prussian ambassador, Rochow, on important decisions of which Nesselrode was uninformed. This tendency to by-pass his own officials was no less dangerous than his practice of speaking freely of diplomatic affairs in the presence of the ladies of the empress' court. The continual threat posed by nihilistic movements also promoted erratic behavior on the part of Nicholas and additional irregularity in administration.[120]

[116] Jomini, I, 2–4, 17–19, 23, 49, 100–101.

[117] Jomini (pp. 503–506) pictured Francis Joseph as convinced of possibilities of an alliance between France and Austria, and Buol as a creature guided by fear of France.

[118] *Ibid.*, pp. 32–33.

[119] Taylor, p. 61. Before the war began, Napoleon III saw clearly its implications for central Europe, as indicated in his conversations with Ernest II, duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, in early March, 1854. See *Memoirs of Ernest II* (4 vols., London, 1890), III, 58–78.

[120] Eckstaedt, I, 4–7, 33–41, 46–51. Rochow owed his personal position to the empress, a daughter of Frederick William III. Her physician, Dr. Mandt, also prescribed for the emperor and served as a mediator between the tsar and the Prussian minister. Rochow actually asked permission of Nicholas to pass to Nesselrode information he had learned from the tsar. Nesselrode had really thought that peace was assured when the Holy Places dispute was settled. He did

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A problem which still calls forth advocates of either side centers on an agreement between the tsar and members of the British government in 1844.[121] During a trip to Great Britain (May 31 to June 9, 1844) the tsar talked with old friends, such as Aberdeen, and to his own satisfaction came to an understanding on the future policy of both nations in the Near East.[122] Nicholas was not interested in a formal treaty. He sought only an understanding between gentlemen and genuinely hoped to prevent war in the Near East. His sincerity and frankness on this occasion impressed nearly all British statesmen with whom he came in contact—only Wellington retained a few doubts.[123] His openness was testimony to Nesselrode's observation that with the British one must always "jouer cartes sur table."[124] After the trip, Nesselrode drew up a memorandum stating the general terms of agreement.[125] The history and legality of the terms of this memorandum are the points still at issue.

Puryear's reading of the record is that "extant documentary evidence for the years 1844–54 proves that such an understanding [the 1844 Russian-English agreement over the Ottoman Empire] was made and that it was continued in force in the nine years which preceded the Crimean War."[126] The "extant documentary evidence" is a reference to letters and dispatches of Brunnow found in the Imperial Archives at St. Petersburg by S. M. Goriainov. He examined and evaluated these in "The Secret Agreement of 1844 between Russia and Great Britain."[127] The crux of the article was that this agreement (the memorandum) was given confidentially from each British government to the next and remained in force. With each new government Brunnow made sure that the prime minister and foreign secretary understood the nature of the agreement. Thus the memorandum passed through the hands of Aber-

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not know Menshikov's full agenda. For Nesselrode's views of Menshikov's task, see Zaionchovsky, I, 351–54, 369–70. For how his limited understanding of affairs affected diplomatic observers, see Thouvenel, *Nicolas Ier et Napoléon III*, pp. 100–101, 113, 115–16. See also J. M. Thompson, *Louis Napoleon and the Second Empire* (London, 1954), p. 146.

[121] For summaries of Russia's view of her relations with England in 1844 and just prior, see Zaionchovsky, I, 125–26; and Grunwald, p. 210.

[122] Puryear, "New Light," (n. 1 above), pp. 223–24. Initiative for Nicholas' visit to Great Britain was taken by both powers on the same day, Jan. 28, 1844. Aberdeen had been minister for foreign affairs in 1829, at the time of the treaty of Adrianople. See also Schieman, *Nikolaus I*, IV, 54.

[123] Goriainov, "Secret Agreement," p. 99. See also Christian Friedrich Stockmar, *Memoirs of Baron Stockmar* (2 vols., London, 1872), II, 108–16; and Grunwald, pp. 213–14.

[124] Nesselrode, X, 225–26.

[125] "Eastern Papers," VI. Puryear ("New Light," p. 225) went so far as to call it "a world-alliance between Russia and England because the contemplated isolation of France in Turkish questions would have as its corollary an Anglo-Russian cooperation in every other matter." See also Zaionchovsky, I, 132–43, for memorandum and correspondence regarding it.

[126] Puryear, "New Light," p. 219.

[127] *Russian Rev.*, I (1912), Parts III–IV.

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deen, Palmerston, Granville, Malmesbury, and Russell. In 1853 Aberdeen was prime minister and "assured Baron Brunnow that he had in no way changed since 1844 in his principles and in his views on foreign policy."[128] The tsar in 1853 remembered the co-operative attitude he had found earlier and, in fact, spoke frankly to Seymour, telling him the same things which he had told to Peel and Aberdeen in 1844.[129] He was profoundly hurt when he realized that Europe did not have faith in his moderation and would not accept his word. Nicholas believed he was serving a European cause in struggling against the "revolution" which he then saw as French policy in the East.[130] He was in earnest when he remarked, "Je me suis expliqué à ce sujet; je suis un homme loyal."[131] At the height of the crisis (November 1, 1853) after the Seymour conversations, Nicholas wrote to Victoria and referred to the direct obligation to consult each other (1844) whenever the fate of the Ottoman Empire was involved, citing his recent comments with Seymour as evidence of good faith. Temperley and Florinsky represent the feeling of recent historians that his frank remarks to Seymour constituted poor policy but did not reveal the criminal intent to commit aggression which his own day and writers such as Rambaud attributed to him.[132]

Puryear has incorporated this thesis on the memorandum into his *England, Russia, and the Straits Question.*[133] This has stimulated more controversy, most of it unsympathetic. Henderson feels that the agreement of 1844 ended when Palmerston became foreign secretary in 1846. He finds the idea that each foreign secretary handed the document *entre nous* to his successor simply erroneous; Temperley agrees that any specific agreement died when Palmerston resumed his position in the Foreign Office.[134] The fact that any agreement made by a government would bind only that government wholly escaped the tsar, who saw familiar faces in the Aberdeen ministry. Palmerston had explained to the tsar (in 1840–1841) the limitations inherent in a secret or confidential agreement with any British cabinet, but Nicholas chose to disregard these observations. While Aberdeen saw the 1844 agreement as only a "mutual expression of opinion," Nicholas, Nesselrode, and even Brunnow thought they had established a new political system. Great Britain would now consult with Russia before co-operating with anyone else in Europe.

[128] *Ibid.*, Part III, 114.
[129] *Ibid.*, Part IV, 77–78; Schieman, IV, 275; "Eastern Papers," V.
[130] Thouvenel, *Nicolas Ier et Napoléon III,* p. 182; Taylor, p. 50.
[131] Thouvenel, *Nicolas Ier et Napoléon III,* pp. 128–29.
[132] Florinsky, II, 860–61; Rambaud, II, 247–50; Temperley, *Crimea,* pp. 278–79.
[133] Chaps. I and IV. Incidentally, La Gorce (*Second Empire,* I, 146) mentions the visit to Great Britain in 1844 but makes no mention of the conversations.
[134] Henderson, pp. 3–4; Temperley, *Crimea,* p. 257.

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The tsar felt he had achieved a concrete agreement with Great Britain; in effect, he thought Great Britain was now an ally of Russia. He believed he had pinned Aberdeen down to a binding and specific understanding—in fact, this was exactly what he had not achieved.[135] That the tsar misunderstood this point is the real tragedy.

The policies of Palmerston sounded the death-knell of the agreement of 1844. Brunnow characterized Palmerston as a man of bad faith, while Nesselrode philosophically noted that he could not live forever.[136] By 1853 Europe had come a long way in nine years. The observation that "the new generation of statesmen was not able successfully to manipulate the political machinery devised by the old generation"[137] tends to forget that most of the statesmen of 1853 had been in important offices since before 1830. The change really was that Russia was now seen in a new light. Over the question of Hungarian refugees the tsar found Great Britain (Palmerston) directly supporting the sultan, who received and protected vast numbers of political exiles in the face of Austrian and Russian threats and demands to surrender them. The best work on this subject is by Dénes Jánossy, who painstakingly searched the Austrian and Hungarian archives and has placed our understanding of this crucial episode on firm foundations.[138]

The tsar deceived himself on the possibility of an effective Anglo-French alliance. That Russian policy depended to a large extent upon British relations with France was clear. The secret agreement of 1844 virtually ignored Austria and Prussia, assuming that they were sure to follow Russian leadership in foreign affairs; and it treated France as an isolated state. The entry of France as a power with whose policies the British found themselves in line upset the calculations of Nicholas.[139] The unfavorable reaction in Great Britain to the tsar's remarks to Seymour created favorable ground for an Anglo-French rapprochement. These conversations, which revealed, in Rambaud's words, the "ultimate aim" of the tsar's schemes, Soviet historians have seen as coalescing "European democracy" in opposition to Nicholas.[140] Palmerston's ideas for a British alliance with France and possibly other states

[135] *Ibid.*, pp. 255–57; Nechkina, II, 336; Florinsky, II, 849–50; Grunwald, p. 210; Seton-Watson, p. 305. Woodward (p. 244) sees the situation as really being a precarious and strictly temporary Anglo-Russian *modus vivendi* over the problem of Ottoman survival. Affairs in the Near East were thus in a state of delicate "suspense" which was upset by the vigorous revival of French claims regarding Holy Places.

[136] Zaionchovsky, I, 155–61; Nesselrode, X, 72.

[137] Binkley, p. 169.

[138] "Great Britain and Kossuth," *Archivum Europea Centro-Orientalis*, III (1937), 53–190; and "Die Ungarische Emigration und der Krieg im Orient," *ibid.*, V (1939), 113–275. See also *Hansard*, CXXIX, 380–81.

[139] Puryear, "New Light," pp. 231–32; Zaionchovsky, I, 125–26.

[140] Rambaud, II, 247–50; Nechkina, II, 407.

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to meet the power of the Holy Alliance nations should have been ample warning to the tsar.[141]

However, there were signs that could be read in favor of the tsar's analysis. Vulliamy notes that "a cunning ambiguity prevailed at the Foreign Office, and it was not easy for anyone to predict in 1852 how England would align herself in the event of an international war."[142] Britain had insisted on predominance in its *entente cordiale* with France, and this policy had furnished fuel for the flame in 1848. Palmerston's approval of the *coup d'état* ahead of others in the cabinet made him unpopular and brought his dismissal.[143] The tsar read from this that Palmerston did not accurately represent British policy. He saw significance in the fact that, in the coalition government at the end of 1852, Palmerston was made Home Secretary while Russell was in charge of foreign affairs. Seymour had not been enthusiastic in carrying out Palmerston's instructions on the refugee issue and won Russian confidence because of it. Further, he had not been replaced.[144] Meanwhile, Nicholas read reports of mistrust in Great Britain over the establishment of the Second Empire. He heard that the British were debating the possibility of a French invasion and there were rumors that Louis Napoleon really had designs on Belgium.[145] On June 20, 1853, Brunnow reported that the British did not agree with the French that the treaty of 1841 bound them to defend Ottoman territory and integrity.[146] In January, 1854, there was an outburst in the British press, amounting almost to a slander campaign, directed against Prince Albert. While Eckstaedt reported that Palmerston was the moving spirit behind it, Greville traced the origin as the work and money of Louis Napoleon acting through Walewski "and another person here," presumably Palmerston.[147] In the face of all this,[148] the tsar felt justified in continuing his faith that an alliance between Great Britain and France was unlikely. We must remember further that Brunnow did not report to the tsar conditions and circumstances as he actually saw them. Brunnow knew that the tsar relied implicitly on Aberdeen's love of peace and the agreement of 1844. From these two premises the tsar regarded as impossible (1) that

141 Henderson, pp. 191–93.
142 Colwyn E. Vulliamy, *Crimea* (London, 1939), p. 46.
143 Henderson, pp. 194–99. Though Palmerston's policy statements were not always consistent, his pro-French inclinations were well known. See Greville, Part III, I, 75; Marx, *Eastern Question*, pp. 331–32.
144 Nesselrode, X, 73.
145 Jomini, I, 103–105, 108–109; Nesselrode, X, 227–28.
146 Zaionchovsky, II, 33–34; Nesselrode, X, 246–48.
147 Malmesbury, I, 420–22; Eckstaedt, I, 77–80; Greville, Part III, I, 134.
148 For more evidence of Anglo-French friction, see Herbert E. Howard, "Lord Cowley on Napoleon III in 1853," *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, XI (1933), 50–53.

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Great Britain would ever declare war against Russia and (2) that Great Britain would conclude an alliance against Russia with France. Taking these into account, Brunnow suppressed material not in line with them in his reports. Brunnow was a very keen observer, understood the effect of public opinion on the British government, and would not have missed seeing the Anglo-French *entente cordiale* which occurred.[149] "It is probable that he knew his monarch too well to imagine the report of an ambassador would divert him from his resolution once taken."[150] The presence in England of a vocal and active peace movement may also have added to the tsar's conviction that Great Britain would not go to war.[151] Cobden's belief in peace led him to assert in the House of Commons that, after all, Great Britain had very little commerce with the Ottoman Empire (!) and would probably gain in trade through Russian occupation of the principalities. Besides, the Hungarian invasion had shown that Russia was incapable of aggressive action without a British loan. He would not believe that Great Britain really wanted to defend a Muslim government in Europe against Christians. In the same debate Russell declared, "if peace at any price is a bad maxim, I cannot see that war at any price is at all better."[152]

Below the level of parliamentary debate and diplomatic protocol, a feeling of antagonism toward Russia had developed in Great Britain.[153] Russia's role as the exponent of repression and absolutism (proved since 1844) was a new element abhorrent to the British. Furthermore, the vast size of Russia, a Russia still growing, added to the general conception of a large, devouring monster. With a rampant serfdom and obscurantist Christianity, actually a threat to civilization, Russia symbolized despotism and reaction. The crowning feature, in British eyes, was that Russia was threatening to become an amphibious Mediterranean power—and this was too much.[154]

The burden of responsibility now falls only lightly on Napoleon III, and,

[149] Eckstaedt, I, 57–58, 66–67. In fact, Clarendon and Walewski deliberately spoke abnormally loud in Brunnow's presence of Anglo-French joint action which would follow if Russian policy toward the Ottoman Empire did not change. Princess de Lieven reported that Aberdeen wrote her that nothing could persuade him to make war against the tsar (Dec. 14, 1853). See Malmesbury, II, 415; Grunwald, p. 210.

[150] Eckstaedt, I, 67.

[151] Henderson, pp. 125–36; Delord, I, 540–41. For an effective criticism of British diplomacy prior to hostilities, see James MacQueen, *The War: Who's to Blame? The Eastern Question Investigated from the Official Documents* (London, 1854).

[152] *Hansard,* CXXIX, 1793, 1798–1802.

[153] Marx, *Eastern Question,* pp. 24–25, 94. Also Jánossy, pp. 110–11. The summary by William Stearns Davis, *A Short History of the Near East* (New York, 1923), pp. 310–15, finds Britain the guiltiest of the parties involved.

[154] Simpson, pp. 221–23; Hübner, I, 133; Malmesbury, I, 422. Russian destruction of the Ottoman fleet at Sinope brought the British public to the sudden realization of the naval implications of the whole Eastern Question.

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as Florinsky notes, Nicholas I has also profited from recent scholarship.[155] Temperley has shown that the Ottoman Empire was fragile and that the tsar's anxiety for its survival was well founded.[156] Stratford de Redcliffe's virtual *carte blanche* and the confused state of British party politics must bear a heavy share of the blame.[157] "Lord Palmerston's action robbed Lord Aberdeen's conciliation of its grace; and Lord Aberdeen's conciliation took the strength out of Lord Palmerston's action."[158] A century of research has pointed out several areas which await further investigation and has brought us now to the conclusion that, like World War I, "The web of this vast tragedy was in fact woven from various and many-colored strands."[159] Essentially, all the principal powers wanted peace. The nature of conditions in the Near East, however, made some sort of action imperative and the cumulative momentum of resulting events pushed matters beyond human control.[160]

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[155] Florinsky, II, 861.
[156] Temperley, *Crimea,* p. viii, chaps. vi–ix.
[157] Seton-Watson, pp. 301–303; Nesselrode, X, 229–30; Woodward, p. 241.
[158] Spencer Walpole, "Great Britain and the Crimean War," *Cambridge Modern History* (1909), XI, 315–16.
[159] Temperley, *Crimea,* p. viii. For a hasty statement of the "increasingly unstable power situation" in which "the seeds of the conflict lay," see Asa Briggs, "Crimean Centenary," *Virginia Quar. Rev.,* XXX (1954), 543–47.
[160] See Woodward, pp. 253–54, for a host of ironical "ifs" by which the war would have been avoided.

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# Notes and Suggestions

## A Note on Charles Austin Beard's Search for a General Theory of Causation

WILLIAM APPLEMAN WILLIAMS

THE emphasis recently placed on the relativism of Charles Austin Beard's historiography tends to obscure another facet of his intellectual history. The clue to this second theme in his work lies in Max Lerner's observation that Beard was "as much a political thinker using historical techniques as he was a historian using political insights."[1] Lerner's evaluation is substantially correct for the first portion of Beard's career. This early period may be dated from his first book, *The Industrial Revolution* (New York, 1901), through his two volumes on foreign policy, *The Idea of National Interest,* with G. H. E. Smith (New York, 1934), and *The Open Door at Home* (New York, 1934). Beard then initiated, during the late years of this first phase of his work, a conscious effort to modify his methodological theory and practice. But he never formulated or employed a new approach to history with the same rigor that characterized his first system of thought. Several considerations would seem to account for this latter-day difficulty. He did not wholly discard his earlier outlook. He understood but imperfectly the second approach. And the new ideas were in themselves incomplete and unsystematized. Yet, in making this effort to broaden his early outlook, Beard was a pioneer who helped break new and fertile soil in American historiography.

"A treatise on causation in politics," judged Beard in 1908, "would be the most welcome contribution which a scholar of scientific training and temper could make."[2] Beard's early labor was essentially a search for such a general theory of causation. It was a quest for what he later called "predictive realism."[3] Even the most off-hand survey of his work during these years reveals a central concern with correspondence, correlation, and causation. He uncovered the what and the when for the purpose of finding out the how

[1] "Charles Beard's Political Theory," in *Charles A. Beard: An Appraisal,* ed. Howard K. Beale (Lexington, Ky., 1954), p. 25. (Hereafter cited as *Beard.*)
[2] *Politics* (New York, 1908), p. 32.
[3] *The Discussion of Human Affairs* (New York, 1936), pp. 25, 40–41, 87, 92–93.



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and the why. He readily admitted, of course, that the final statement of a general theory of causation would be made by someone with the "attributes ascribed by the theologians to God."[4] Beard never claimed such qualifications. But he did stress the value and need of a synthesis, and did what he could to develop such an analytical tool. Call it tragic or pathetic, according to one's personal metaphysic, Beard studied history in the years from 1901 to 1934 as research for a general theory.

Beard presented a summary outline of his general theory in *The Economic Basis of Politics,* delivered first as lectures in 1916 and published in 1922. He had previously published *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* (first ed., 1913) and *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* (New York, 1915) as fragments of his research for the theory. Then, in *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, 1927), *The American Party Battle* (New York, 1928), and *The Idea of National Interest,* he applied the theory to the whole span of American history. He also employed it as a tool for reviewing books; as, for example, in his analyses of Brooks and Henry Adams (1920), Frederick Jackson Turner (1921), and Vladimir Ilich Lenin (1933).[5] And ultimately he used it as a basis upon which to formulate domestic and foreign policies for the future: "A 'Five Year Plan' for America" (1931),[6] and *The Open Door at Home.*

In these same years, however, Beard began to modify his general theory. He announced and explored the shift in four essays on historiography: "Written History as an Act of Faith" (*American Historical Review,* XXXIX, January, 1934), "That Noble Dream" (*AHR,* XLI, October, 1935), *The Discussion of Human Affairs,* and, with Alfred Vagts, "Currents of Thought in Historiography" (*AHR,* XLII, April, 1937). His writings offer considerable, though incomplete, evidence on the reasons behind this shift. He seems to have grown tired and impatient with the difficulties of the theory—or concluded temporarily that they could not be solved. This was coupled with a discouraging realization that the chance-proof prediction of particulars was an illusory goal. Both these considerations are related to his discovery of the German theorists who worked in the wake of Wilhelm Dilthey. This part of the story, which remains largely untold, may be the most significant phase of Beard's historiographical history.[7]

[4] *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (New York, 1935 ed.), p. xii.

[5] *New Republic,* Mar. 31, 1920, pp. 162–63; Feb. 16, 1921, pp. 349–50; May 17, 1933, pp. 22–24.

[6] *Forum,* LXXXVI (July, 1931), 1–11.

[7] Professor Lloyd Sorenson, a colleague at the University of Oregon, is currently investigating this phase of Beard's career. I am indebted to him for sharing with me his knowledge of the Germans and his estimate of Beard's relationship with their work.

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Important parts of the explanation, to be sure, may be found elsewhere. Perhaps Beard was caught, ironically enough, in the validity of his theory, unable to accept, because of his own historical background, the very program that his theory pointed to as a solution for contemporary problems.[8] Current issues, such as President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's developing foreign policy, certainly distracted him to an increasing extent. And perhaps a personal crisis, of which the outsider knows nothing, served as the incident to shift his whole approach to history. Whatever the final assessment, it is clear that Beard's historiography after 1934 was different from what it had been in the years before.

Much criticism of Beard confuses these two periods of his work. This is understandable. He did not wipe clean the slate in the late 1920's and the early 1930's. His later writing is confused. But it may help to clarify the situation if Beard's confusion is separated from that of his critics. Beard had two kinds of trouble with the Germans. They were themselves unable to resolve the dilemma which arose in the course of their own redefinition of history. And he misread or misunderstood their valiant efforts.[9] An important clue to his failure to comprehend the Germans may be found in the carry-over, as he read them, of his earlier ideas about a general theory. Perhaps, too, he chose consciously to reject certain of their arguments, concluding that they did not offer satisfactory alternatives to elements of his own theory. Thus, because it came first and served as a background for this later activity, it may be helpful to review briefly Beard's development and employment of a general theory of causation in the years before 1934.

The main elements of Beard's general theory would seem to have been, in turn, the *Weltanschauung* of his youth and the writings of Karl Marx, James Madison, and Brooks Adams. Beard matured in the harsh work-a-day world of industrial America in the late 1880's and 1890's. He capped that experience with several exciting years in the midst of socialist agitation in Germany and the ferment of the labor movement in England. His life in the family home, his field trips from De Pauw to the stockyards of Chicago, his reconnaissance of the battle between German conservatives and socialists, and his labors in behalf of Fabianism in England all seemed to verify one central theme. Property was the stuff of politics.

Beard's male ancestors were landowning businessmen who thought and acted in terms of those responsibilities, opportunities, and precepts. He was reared in the same tradition, even to the point of being backed, as a high

[8] Lerner touches upon this point in his essay in *Beard*, p. 44.
[9] Conversations with Professor Sorenson.

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school graduate, in a newspaper venture of his own. He never quite accustomed himself to the stir he provoked by pointing up the relationship between property and history. "People ask me why I emphasize economic questions so much," he once remarked with some wonder. "They should have been present in the family parlor, where my father and his friends gathered to discuss public affairs."[10]

Beard saw little in Chicago, Berlin, and London to change his early understanding of the world. His experience seemed only to verify his awareness that men and groups of different positions in the economic life of society looked at the world from conflicting points of view, and competed among themselves for influence and power. Beard may have moved away from the views of his father's particular group, but he did not retreat from this fundamental way of making sense out of the past which he studied or the present in which he lived. He may have changed his point of view in, but not about, the struggle. And it is easy to overemphasize the extent to which he shifted his opinion of given programs or policies. Beard never attacked private property as such, even in the heyday of the Progressive movement or the New Deal. He is reported to have remarked, at one point in his early years, that he was "almost a socialist."[11] But the leap from "almost a socialist" to a socialist is perhaps the longest in politics. Beard never made that jump. Both his critics and his defenders tend to overlook this essential fact.

Thus it is not surprising either that Beard was attracted by Marx's efforts to generalize about the relationship between the productive forces of society or that he never became a Marxian.[12] It is misleading to argue, or imply, as do many of his critics, that Beard merely seized James Madison as a hostage against those who attacked him as a Marxian after the publication of *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*. Beard never claimed he read Madison's *Federalist No. 10* while a college freshman and henceforth closed his mind to all other ideas. All he ever said or implied, and this at but one stage of his career, was that he came to consider Madison's theory of factions the most generally satisfying thesis about the engines of the "great transformations in society."[13]

[10] Quoted by Eric F. Goldman in *Beard*, p. 2.

[11] Quoted by M. Josephson, "Charles A. Beard: A Memoir," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, XXV (October, 1949), 585–602.

[12] The key sentence in B. C. Borning, "The Political Philosophy of Young Charles A. Beard," *American Political Science Review*, XLIII (December, 1949), 1177, would seem to verify this: "At any rate, it is plain that his economic interpretation of American history constituted no sudden break in his developing thought."

[13] "The Economic Basis of Politics," *New Republic*, Sept. 27, 1922, p. 128.

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Of course Beard "discovered Madison a good deal later than he discovered Karl Marx." Beard first read Marx as a student at De Pauw, again while in England, and once more during the Great Depression. But this chronology does not prove that his theory of causation was produced by "a grafting of Marx on Madison."[14] Joan Robinson has remarked, in her usual witty and penetrating manner, that "Marxism is the opium of the Marxists."[15] The manner in which Beard is persistently treated as a Marxian, either explicitly, implicitly, or by innuendo, suggests that there is a corollary to her axiom: Anti-Marxism is the opium of the non-Marxists.

Those who call Beard a Marxian would seem to make the fundamental error of equating economic determinism with Marxism. Economic determinism is an open-ended system of causal analysis. Marxism, as generally understood and as used by the critics of Beard, is a closed system of utopian prophecy. Beard tried to clarify the difference between these two systems by pointing out that the ancients, from Aristotle to James Harrington, had emphasized economic differences as a source of dynamic conflict and change. He might have done better to quote Marx or Lenin on the question. Both men readily admitted that earlier thinkers stressed the relationship between economics and politics.

Lenin spelled out the difference that existed in his mind between an economic determinist and a Marxian in one classic sentence in his essay *The State and Revolution*. "A Marxist is one who *extends* the acceptance of the class struggle to the acceptance of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*." Whether Lenin might more accurately have written Communist for Marxist is by no means an irrelevant question. It would seem, indeed, to be a very crucial one. But here the key point is that Beard never extended his acceptance of the class struggle to an acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The only inevitability that Beard ever accepted was the certainty of conflict and change.

Beard was keenly aware of the central problem of economic determinism. Postulating a connection between economics and politics raises the question of defining and analyzing the nature of the relationship. The difficulty is overcome with relative ease in cases where the record makes it possible to trace economic motives from rational calculations of profit through to the formulation of public policy and political action. Beard correctly insisted that this specific pattern could be established in more instances than many of his critics cared to admit. But it may be doubted, despite several sugges-

[14] Douglass Adair, "The Tenth Federalist Revisited," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., VIII (January, 1951), 60–61.

[15] *On Re-Reading Marx* (Cambridge, Eng., 1953), p. i.

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tions that have been made to this effect, that he generalized these precise examples into a general theory based on the economic motive.[16]

Beard quite understood that economic determinism runs into its most difficult theoretical problem when the circumstances are generalized beyond the realm of individualized and specified rational calculations of profit. Here is a situation in which the calculus operates at the much broader level of maximizing achievement. Achievement, as Beard appreciated, includes such considerations at attaining prestige and status, and holding the line against loss and outside challenges, in addition to increasing economic gain. He also knew, from reading their correspondence (as well as their polemics), that Marx and Engels fretted over the relationship between economics and other phases of human development. References to the "reflection" of economics into ideas, to the "superstructure" of ideas, or to the "correspondence" of economics and ideas, do not answer this central question. But just because Beard concerned himself, in some instances, with economic motives does not mean that he artificially restricted economic determinism to that level of analysis. This is to take an argument advanced to account for one specific relationship and, for purposes of general evaluation, make it into a general theory. Such practice would seem to reveal more about the critic than about the subject.

Beard himself turned, at this point, from Marx to Madison because he concluded that Madison's system of factions handled the relationship between economics and politics in a more subtle, supple, and satisfying manner. Beard's commitment to *The Federalist No. 10* suggests that Madison's careful analysis is worthy of serious attention in an age when social scientists labor mightily to construct complex and logical models of the social system. Such a review is useful on two counts. It may serve to clarify Madison's work, which is significant in its own right as a theory of causation. And it is more illuminating to discuss Beard's early production in terms of his efforts to test and apply Madison's basic theory than it is to criticize Beard as no more than a Progressive who used scholarship as a weapon in politics. The following analysis of Madison's system is designed to serve both purposes.

The most striking, and in a sense misleading, feature of the *No. 10* is the small part of it actually given over to the problem of causation. Madison devoted by far the greatest portion of his paper to a defense of the Constitution as a device for moderating the very consequences of his law of causation. "Among the numerous advantages promised by a well-constructed

[16] Adair, Lerner, Hofstadter, and Morton G. White all lean toward the view that Beard's theory was based on the economic motive.

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Union," he explained, "none deserves to be more accurately developed than its tendency to break and control the violence of faction."[17] But his general theory was no less complete for the brevity of its statement. He had worked it out in great detail, and with much thought, in preparation for the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. This enabled him to state it precisely and vigorously in the opening section of the *No. 10.*

A faction, Madison begins, is "a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or minority of the whole, who are united and actuated by some common impulse or passion, or of interest, adverse to the rights of other citizens, or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community." Four aspects of this definition need emphasis. (1) Madison immediately denies the homogeneity of society. (2) He subdivides it into an unnumbered plurality of groups. To each of these smaller units he attributes the characteristics of the "in-group," both as to its own internal system and its attitude toward "out-groups," as defined by contemporary sociologists and psychologists. (3) He likewise specifies the role of belief or ideology as a motivational engine functioning in series or parallel with material interests. (4) And finally, the term *aggregate* is one lately coming back into favor among the most rigorous and advanced economic theorists as descriptive of the important over-all consideration in any economic calculus.

Madison next developed his theory of personal and group motivation. Being human, man's "opinions and his passions will have a reciprocal influence on each other; and the former will be objects to which the latter will attach themselves." Here Madison wasted no effort trying to destroy the idea, or the reality, of self-interest as the mainspring of motivation. Instead he stated and argued, in twenty-odd words, the thesis that self-interest is subjective rather than objective. An individual's idea of self-interest is formed by the pressures of his ego, his libido, ideas and ideals, and by rational calculations of material gain.

Madison goes beyond this ancient truth so elaborately and eloquently rerevealed by modern scholarship. As an animal, however human, man is born unequal in his passions and his reason. The many combinations of varying degrees of self-love and reason lead to "different and unequal faculties of acquiring property, from which the possession of different degrees and kinds of property immediately results; and from the influence of these on the sentiments and views of the respective proprietors, ensues a division of the society into different interests and parties." In itself this is a most sophisticated equation composed of three variables interacting through time.

[17] *The Federalist* (Modern Library ed.), pp. 54–56.

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Madison's superb command of the language may have erected, at this point, a barrier against later students of his work. For he has stated, in very few words, a subtle system of causation. It starts with passion and ability, progresses to rewards, which, in turn, affect passion and ability. Let it be followed with care. (1) In any given individual, man's passions, for ideas as well as sexual objects and material goods, and his self-love are found in varying combinations. (2) Likewise, the faculty of reasoning power and the ability to carry out a given conclusion are also present in different degrees. (3) By virtue of these two variables, it follows that the extent to which a man is able to acquire valuable property in the form of intellectually valid conclusions and material wealth is also unequal. (4) To this acquired property, be it intellectual or material, his own self-love immediately becomes attached. (5) But, and to Madison's entire system this is all-important, this property also exerts a reciprocal influence on the individual's initial concept of his self-interest. This property, concludes Madison, "would certainly bias his judgment, and, not improbably, corrupt his integrity."

Madison concludes by placing his system in time and in the real world. Initial inequalities of temperament and intellect are brought to bear upon the aggregate of society's resources and lead to inequalities of material property. This unequal division of the existing aggregate takes two forms. First, there is the broadest split between those who are creditors and those who are debtors. Secondly, within the creditor class there are different kinds as well as degrees of wealth. Madison here anticipated the functional school of sociologists by specifying a "landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantilist interest, a moneyed interest," and many other "lesser interests."

Such unequal division of society's aggregate material wealth is the "most common and durable source of factions." Thus at the given moment of a specific birth the new man begins his competition for a share of this aggregate property on the basis of a double inequality. His native endowment is unequal and the existing aggregate is already divided on an unequal basis. This was, in summary, Madison's general theory, which Beard found more attractive than Marx's schema and which he set out to test through research in American history.

Three problems arise in dealing with Beard's efforts to validate and use Madison's theory of politics. First, there is the question of Beard's misunderstanding or distortion of the system. Second, it is important to place *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* and *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* in their proper relation to Beard's work with the theory. And third, Beard's subsequent use of the system needs to be examined. Only

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then will it be possible to gain some understanding of the way in which Beard later tried to integrate the ideas of various German thinkers and the theory of Brooks Adams into the Madisonian system.

Morton G. White and Douglass Adair charge most directly that Beard misread or distorted Madison. White argues that Madison's theory, far from being economic determinism, is based on a "biological rooting of class differences in human nature."[18] Adair insists that Beard ignored Madison's list of noneconomic factions. He also claims that Beard is guilty of a "misstatement" in failing to deal with Madison's reference to man's "reason and his self-love, his opinions and his passions," as well as to the influence of material interests.[19] Both critics would seem to overlook important considerations in drawing up their indictments.

White is correct on one point. Madison does posit men as being born unequal. But White does not mention that Madison immediately modifies this biological determinism by noting the influence of property "on the sentiments and views of the respective proprietors." Madison insists that a man's property "would certainly bias his judgment, and, not improbably, corrupt his integrity." White also neglects Madison's awareness that biological inequality is modified by the fact that men are not born into a state of nature but into the inequality of a going society.

A good case could be made that biological inequalities would be the key factor in a continuing state of nature. This would seem, indeed, the only circumstance in which biology could function in a deterministic manner. But Madison was not theorizing about a state of nature. He was writing about a very real world. And beginning at least as early as John Adams, many Americans have stressed the fact that the economic circumstances of birth powerfully modify the biological inequalities of conception.[20] Nor is it by any means certain that the biological inequalities which survive the friction of existing class differences play a determining part in later competition and achievement.[21] The property complex of birth includes, furthermore, the

[18] *Social Thought in America: The Revolt against Formalism* (New York, 1949), pp. 119, 123–24.

[19] Adair, "Tenth Federalist Revisited," p. 60.

[20] John Adams, "The Right Constitution of a Commonwealth Examined," quoted by Beard in *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*, pp. 300–303; F. W. Gregory and I. D. Neu, "The American Industrial Elite in the 1870's," in *Men in Business*, ed. William Miller (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), pp. 193–211; Donald R. Matthews, *The Social Background of Political Decision Makers* (Garden City, N. Y., 1954); the studies by W. Miller referred to in his "The Business Elite in Business Bureaucracies," *Men in Business*, p. 286; C. W. Mills, "The American Business Elite: A Collective Portrait," *Journal of Economic History*, Supplement, V (December, 1945), 20–44; F. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, *American Business Leaders* (New York, 1932); R. W. Wald and R. A. Doty, "The Top Executives—A Firsthand Profile," *Harvard Business Review*, XXXII (July–August, 1954), 45–54.

[21] Albert T. Lauterback, *Man, Motives, and Money: Psychological Frontiers of Economics*

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amount and availability of undistributed property as well as the allotment of the titled claims. And the importance of biology would seem to vary, in considerable part at any rate, with the amount of unclaimed property.[22]

Madison's emphasis on the influence of property on passion and reason indicates his keen awareness of these considerations. The property complex into which one is born immediately modifies the significance of the biological endowments of birth. Or, in Madison's language: "From the protection of different and inequal facilities of acquiring property, the possession of different kinds of property immediately results." But property inequalities could not result immediately from biological inequalities, no matter how favorable the government's policy toward biological inequalities, unless the official protection served to guarantee property differences at the instant of birth. Madison does not appear, upon a close reading, to be a biological determinist in quite the sense that White argues.

Adair's charge that Beard misrepresents Madison would seem also to be a bit wide of the mark. Adair's basic assertion is all inclusive: "when Beard paraphrases from *Federalist 10* . . . his method is to quote one passage of that essay incompletely; to change subtly, but decisively, a key element in Madison's theory into Marxian terms; and then to buttress this misstatement of Madison's 'economic determinism' with a footnote which is almost a verbatim transcription of a paragraph by Engels."[23] The fact that Beard cited a source that his critics traced to Engels is clearly irrelevant to the question of whether Madison was distorted and may be ignored in considering Adair's central thesis.

Adair specifies that Beard omitted Madison's catalogue of noneconomic factions and discounted Madison's point that opinions can cause factional conflict. These particulars are literally correct. But Adair, in making the charge against Beard, neglects to quote Madison on two key points. He does not mention Madison's careful notation that property exerts a reciprocal influence on opinion. And here again, the circumstances of birth have much to do with later opinions. Nor does Adair quote Madison's concluding judgment on the manifold causes of faction. The catalogue of noneconomic factions ends with this unequivocal summary: "But the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property." Perhaps Madison, after all, is the best authority on the extent of Madison's economic determinism.

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(Ithaca, 1954), pp. 24–28; George Katona, *Psychological Analysis of Economic Behavior* (New York, 1951), p. 197.

[22] Walter P. Webb, *The Great Frontier* (Boston, 1952).

[23] Adair, "Tenth Federalist Revisited," p. 60, and n. 25.

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Having shifted his attention from Marx to Madison, Beard proceeded to subject Madison's theory to a series of two inquiries. The first was an elementary correspondence test. With this he sought primarily to check Madison's thesis that, despite many noneconomic causes of factions, the "most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property." He did the bulk of his research in the archives of the Treasury Department. And the resulting book became first notorious and then famous under the title *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*. Beard's second project was more complex. He undertook an examination of Madison's contention that property influences opinion. His research materials for this study included political speeches, pamphlets, and treatises, as well as the raw facts of economic history. Though in many ways more stimulating than the first volume, the *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* did not win the attention awarded the book on the Constitution. Largely on the basis of these two monographs, however, Beard went on to state publicly his broad acceptance of the general theory that economics is the basis of politics.

Any review of the relationship between Beard's search for a general theory and his reputation-making book on the Constitution may well begin with Professor Richard Hofstadter's recent analysis of the volume.[24] Hofstadter offers a different explanation for Beard's original interest in the economic standing of the Constitution-makers. "The answer," he writes, "must be found in the fact that Beard was not simply a scholar; he was, and remained his life long, a publicist with an urgent interest in the intellectual and political milieu in which he lived." Thus Beard was caught up in the Progressive movement's concern with "the motives and activities of the rich and established classes." And Progressive reality "was the bribe, the rebate, the bought franchise, the sale of adulterated food."[25] If this reading is correct, Hofstadter sees Beard primarily concerned with economic motives rather than with any

[24] "Charles Beard on the Constitution," in *Beard*, pp. 75–92. This concentration on Hofstadter's essay results neither from neglecting nor discounting Eric F. Goldman's essay, "The Origins of Beard's *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XIII (April, 1952), 234–49. Hofstadter's interpretation includes Goldman's more specific thesis that Beard was caught up in the liberal movement that used Darwinism to "oppose Social Darwinism" (pp. 237, 247). Goldman does not, like Hofstadter, stress the Progressive movement's concern with sordid economic motives. But, like Hofstadter, Goldman does separate the book on the Constitution from the volume on Jeffersonian Democracy; and, like Hofstadter, does not see either book as primarily an effort to test Madison's general theory. Robert E. Thomas, "A Reappraisal of Charles A. Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*," *American Historical Review*, LVII (January, 1952), 370–75, questions Beard's Progressivism. C. M. Kenyon, "Men of Little Faith: The Anti-Federalists on the Nature of Representative Government," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., XII (January, 1955), 3–6, criticizes Beard. This essay was written before the publication of Robert E. Brown's study, *Charles Beard and the Constitution* (Princeton, 1956). Hence it does not deal explicitly with Brown's analysis of Beard.

[25] "Beard on the Constitution," pp. 85–87.

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hypothesis about interests and ideas. The bias of Progressive thought accounts for the contrast between Beard's meticulous work on the economic background of the Constitution-writers and his rough outline of their political ideas.

Hofstadter's perceptive social-psychological analysis would seem to be a a projection of his "psychic crisis" interpretation of the 1890's.[26] Such a stimulating hypothesis can not, of course, be counted out as wrong. His retrocast of the Progressive climate of opinion is especially illuminating. Yet two reservations may be introduced. Both concern the methodological dangers inherent in his approach. Hofstadter begins by placing Beard in the generalized Progressive movement. This technique is useful provided the actor, in this instance Beard, is not lost in the abstracted system of the group. But Hofstadter does mislay Beard's individuality. He has to fall back on the only device he has left. He reads the generalized character of the movement back into Beard. This creates a fictional protagonist in place of a historical character. Such procedure is useful for broad generalization, and perhaps for purposes of prediction, but certainly less so for understanding a specific individual.

The second weakness of Hofstadter's interpretation stems from the propensity, when using psychology at historical distances, to doubt all statements by the actor about his own motivation and purpose. Such scientifically founded skepticism is likely to become unjustified disregard in the course of the research. Testimony is not always proof, but neither is it always irrelevant. And Hofstadter would appear to neglect the latter consideration in discounting so heavily Beard's explanation of his study of the Constitution.

Hofstadter's analysis of Beard's research *Weltanschauung* is helpful if taken with these reservations. Certainly Beard was conscious of the Progressive thesis on property, profits, and politics. But it may be recalled that he learned the basic principle involved, but with a different nuance, in the parlor of his own home. Beard no doubt anticipated, as Hofstadter suggests, the potential influence of his study. Yet involvement in reform politics does not hinge on a commitment to the profit motive thesis. There is still reason to believe that Beard had more in mind. A second look at the book seems to verify Beard's avowed purpose of testing a portion of Madison's general theory. Beard immediately announced that the work was "frankly fragmentary" and "designed to suggest new lines of historical research." And within a few pages he specified his particular method: "the inquiry which follows is based upon the political science of James Madison."[27]

[26] "Manifest Destiny and the Philippines," in *America in Crisis,* ed. Daniel Aaron (New York, 1952), p. 173.

[27] *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution,* pp. xix, 14.

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Such use of the phrase "based upon" has no meaning save in the sense of being "guided by." This would seem clearly to indicate Beard's interest in evaluating Madison's theory. The more so, since he next proceeded to clarify which proposition he chose to test. Essentially it was very simple. He proposed a direct check on the correspondence between the economic standing of a given group of citizens and the political opinions and actions of the same group. An identity would create, he argued, "a reasonable presumption in favor" of Madison's conclusion that "the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property." That is all Beard claimed for the book. "To carry the theory of the economic interpretation of the Constitution out into its ultimate details," he carefully noted, "would require a monumental commentary."[28]

Hofstadter sees an ambiguity in Beard's refusal also to deal in similar detail with the political ideas of the group in question. There are two comments, beyond an exposition of Beard's own answer, which seem relevant to a discussion of this emphasis in Beard's research. First, the Constitutional Convention was the focus of a crisis situation. The men in attendance agreed on basic issues. Their compromises in Constitution Hall were tactical in nature, not strategic. The strategic compromise came later, when the decision was made to accept the Bill of Rights. Second, the political ideas of the Constitution-makers had been explored in considerable detail. Beard could reasonably assume that his readers were acquainted with that side of the story.

Hofstadter also comments on Beard's occasional references to the fact that certain of the document-writers were personally involved in the "outcome of their labors at Philadelphia." And he would seem, in the final judgment, to interpret such remarks as evidence for Lerner's argument that Beard was concerned with a theory of economic motives rather than with a general theory of economic determinism. But in view of the basic structure of the book on the Constitution, which follows Beard's announced object of running a simple, if detailed, correspondence test, Hofstadter's argument can not be accepted without considering the companion study of Jeffersonian Democracy.

Nor does the fact that specified, particular men acted from economic motives contradict, deny, or destroy a broader theory of economic determinism. Certainly not for Marx. Marx many times said that he was not primarily concerned with moralizing about motives. But he never denied that businessmen did, upon occasion, act from economic motives. And Madison, working within the general concept that property influences opinion, also left room

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 16–18.

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for motives. "No man is allowed to be a judge in his own cause because his interest would certainly bias his judgment, and, not improbably, corrupt his integrity." All Beard said in the book on the Constitution was that a given body of men did, in a specific crisis, act in keeping with their interests. Upon this evidence he concluded that his correspondence test had, in fact, "a reasonable presumption in favor" of Madison's insistence that property was the most common and durable cause of faction.[29]

The thesis that Beard's volume was in essence the work of a Progressive in scholarship sheds even less light on the *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*. This book was published but two years later. And it was in progress for at least two years before its release in September, 1915. It may seriously be doubted that Beard wrenched himself out of the Progressive milieu in the interval. His resignation from Columbia was still to come. That act certainly fitted the Progressive ethic—as did his statement of termination. Yet his study of the Jeffersonians is cut to the same theoretical pattern as the volume on the Constitution. The fathers of Progressivism come off no better than the authors of the Constitution. Beard concluded that the Republicans, too, went into politics on the basis of their economics. This opens up something of a gap in the argument that Beard's book on the Constitution was at bottom a Progressive indictment of wealthy conservatives on the ground that they were economically motivated. For such an interpretation offers no explanation of Beard's similar conclusion about the motivation of the Jeffersonians.

The study of the Jeffersonians goes beyond the technique of the correspondence test to an analysis of ideas. Beard does establish, of course, a correspondence between opinion and property as the basis for subsequent research. In this he found that factions began to arise within the property-holding class soon after its various elements had collaborated to establish a creditor's government. This division was based on the kinds of property within the wealth-owning group. This correlation set the stage for further inquiry.

Beard's chapters on the political economy of John Adams, John Taylor, and Thomas Jefferson are clearly designed to examine two other aspects of Madison's theory: first, the degree to which noneconomic causes account for factions; and second, the time at which the reciprocal influence of property on opinion begins to act. Beard's analysis of the ideas of these three men is some of his best work. It might more often be remembered by those who criticize so freely his volume *The American Spirit*.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 324–25.

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Beard strikes to the core of the problem in the essay on Adams. Adams, like Madison, in the beginning goes beyond economic facts to account for the origin of faction. But, as Beard emphasizes, Adams immediately qualifies this by remarking upon the influence of property on native endowment. "*Generally* those who are rich and descended from families in public life," Adams points out, "will have the best education in arts and sciences, and therefore the gentlemen will ordinarily, notwithstanding some exceptions to the rule, be the richer, and born of more noted families."[30] This proposition reinforced Madison's general theory, and Beard interpreted it in such fashion. By thus establishing Madison's system in time and society, through considering men as born into an existing correspondence between ideas and interests, Beard felt he had done much to verify Madison's system. "The grand conclusion," he wrote in *The Economic Basis of Politics,* "seems to be exactly that advanced by our own James Madison in the Tenth Number of the Federalist."[31]

Beard went on to interpret the whole span of American history within this framework. Or, more exactly, that seems to have been his thought and intention. But he did not apply rigorously the very theory of causation which he had worked so hard to validate. He was at the outset confronted by a Gargantuan job of research. His recognition of the immensity of the labor involved may have been, indeed, a realization that helped ultimately to turn him away from his original concern with "predictive realism."[32] His poignant remarks about not being able to encompass history-as-actuality need to be read in the context of his comment, in 1913, that the "ultimate details" of an economic interpretation would require a "monumental commentary." The following comment on *The Rise of American Civilization* and *The Idea of National Interest* is made with such limitations in mind. Even so, the books are certainly among the best Beard ever wrote.

Beard had several difficulties when he began to interpret the sweep of American experience with his general theory. The first was a product of his tendency to think primarily in terms of the crisis situation. This would seem understandable because his two inquiries into the validity of the theory were based on research into such circumstances. But it made him overconscious of Madison's first class of economic inequality, that between creditors and debtors. He was further inclined, on the basis of his early research, to stereotype that division as commercial and agrarian. This, too, tended artificially to freeze the flexibility of Madison's system.

[30] *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy,* pp. 300–303.
[31] *The Economic Basis of Politics* (New York, 1945 ed.), p. 70.
[32] *Discussion of Human Affairs,* pp. 25, 40–41.

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Another factor bears on Beard's later problems. Both his early studies were made at a time when the aggregate property was fixed. In a crisis situation in which aggregate property remained static, such as the large property holder's drive to overthrow the Articles of Confederation in 1787 and the landed interests' bid to capture the national government in 1800, the broad division into creditor and debtor, or commercial and agrarian, remained generally valid when applied to specific kinds of creditors. Beard handled the breakup of the Constitutional coalition quite well on this basis.

A crisis version of Madison's system continued to work satisfactorily when dealing with similar episodes, such as the Civil War and the turn of the trade balance, in later American history. Thus Beard saw the Civil War as the "Second American Revolution" and stressed the shift from continental to overseas economic expansion. But a crisis version of Madison's system did not serve to interpret satisfactorily the decades of accumulative change: periods when the aggregate property was increasing or decreasing, and when different kinds of property led to the rise of factions within the creditor and debtor groups. Had Beard worked more closely within Madison's system, he would have avoided criticism of the kind made by Professor Arthur P. Whitaker in his study *The United States and the Independence of Latin America.* Whitaker analyzed, with exceedingly fruitful results, the functional factions within the commercial and agrarian classes.[33]

Beard had further difficulties when he began to apply Madison's theory to American history after 1880. Then he had to contend with a highly complex industrial system. Here Beard knew fewer facts and understood far less about the system itself than he did when dealing with the pre-Civil War period. Nor did he take time to do the necessary research. He never prepared a monograph on industrial America that compared in quality or scope with his studies of the Federalists and the Jeffersonians. But he was perceptive enough to recognize his weakness.

Perhaps Beard's awareness of this limitation is implicit in the last chapters of *The Rise of American Civilization.* There his succession of bold generalizations begins to give way to a well-written recitation of events. He openly acknowledged his troubles a year later when he published *The American Party Battle.* He still praised and used Madison, but he also entered several reservations. Most of them pertained to the problem of getting the facts. "It takes a great deal of research and discernment to find the roots of 'different sentiments and views' in any particular political situation," he commented

[33] *The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800–1830* (Baltimore, 1941), p. 36. Whitaker's best analysis may be found in sections IV and V of chapter 3, pp. 87–99.

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with obvious disappointment, "especially as it is hard to get all the pertinent data in the case."[34] Yet despite these weaknesses in using Madison's general theory, *The Rise of American Civilization* and *The Idea of National Interest* stand among the very few first-rate generalized reviews of American history. They may suggest, in fact, that historians need not cringe when their contemporaries among the social scientists speak of the need for a general theory.

Beard's turn to the German theorists who were laboring to develop a new historiography is beyond the scope of this essay. Yet it may be suggested that his shift was neither sudden nor complete. He cited German scholars as early as 1913, in the book on the Constitution. Their influence reappeared in his discussion of Madison in *The American Party Battle*. He credited Max Weber and Friedrich Meinecke for portions of the conceptual framework of *The Idea of National Interest*. And he gleaned other key ideas from Karl Mannheim, Karl Huessi, and Albert Schweitzer.[35] But it seems dubious to conclude that Beard gave up his interest in a general theory in the course of his journey among the Herrenvolk. He did abandon, in the early 1930's, his search for predictive realism. But he quickly took up the challenge of a general theory that would promote an understanding of historical change and contemporary events. Then, to accomplish this, he put the Germans in harness with Brooks Adams for the purpose of bringing Madison's theory up to date. The result was the 1945 revision of the 1916 lectures, *The Economic Basis of Politics*.

Beard announced the end of his effort to achieve predictive realism through scientific history in his statement on "Written History as an Act of Faith." He openly joined those who were "rightly suspicious of this procedure."[36] And he appeared to accept, as a new basis for interpretation, the extremely relativistic code of "to each his own." Soon thereafter he consigned the efforts of Henry Adams, Oswald Spengler, and other like-minded prophets "to the realm of curiosities."[37] Personal, professional, and philosophical critics saw these remarks as Beard's white flag of surrender.

Yet Beard was trying to formulate something entirely different from the absolute relativism with which he has been charged. Beard abandoned predictive realism but he did not forsake the idea of valid generalizations. He

[34] *The American Party Battle*, pp. 5–11.

[35] *The Idea of National Interest*, p. 4, nn. 7 and 8, and continuing through the chapter. For a full review of Beard's work with the Germans see Lloyd Sorenson, "Charles A. Beard and German Historiographical Thought," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLII (September, 1955), 274–87.

[36] *Discussion of Human Affairs*, pp. 40–41, 87; "Written History as an Act of Faith," *AHR*, XXXIX, 222–23.

[37] "Currents of Thought in Historiography," *AHR*, XLII, 478.

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did not give up his view that "relationships in history" could be ordered in "a certain coherence." Nor did he ever retreat wholly from his emphasis on the importance of economics. "An examination of the history of the forms of government action impinging on economy shows," he insisted, "that few if any of them originate outside the sphere of economic interests."[38]

This left Beard with the old problem of the connection between economics and politics, and with his difficulties with relativism. He temporarily neglected the dilemma of relativism while he concentrated on the relationship between economics and ideas. This problem became acute, as he pointed out in 1928, when "two persons in the same economic situation and cherishing the same 'sentiments' may differ as to the best plan of action to advance their interests. Their motives may be purely economic and their prejudices identical, but their reasoning divergent."[39]

Beard seemed, for a time, to view technology as the missing link. Men solved their production problems with solutions conditioned by the job. But engineering concepts also organized men as well as materials. These newly structured men then acted socially within the framework of their economic organization. "New economic facts," i.e., the production problem to be solved, "produce new political facts," i.e., the social action of the men organized by the job.[40]

This line of thought led Beard into the sociology of knowledge. Here Huessi and Mannheim helped him avoid the absurdity of absolute relativism. Everyone has a frame of reference, concluded Beard, but the number available "are relatively few in number and their respective natures may be fairly well defined." He never hedged his debt to the Germans for their work in this area, calling it the "most important contribution of contemporary historiography to thinking about human affairs."[41] Beard then used Schweitzer's methodology and schema of *Weltanschauungen* in an effort to define and understand the "American spirit."[42] But he was unable, after establishing the concept in the first chapter, to pull the personal and group world views into one national *Weltanschauung* for the United States.

Beard's incomplete mastery of the Germans stemmed in considerable

[38] *Discussion of Human Affairs,* pp. 71, 73; "Currents in Historiography," p. 481.

[39] *American Party Battle,* pp. 10–11.

[40] C. A. and William Beard, *The American Leviathan: The Republic in the Machine Age* (New York, 1930), pp. 4–5, 84; and see C. A. Beard, "The Political Heritage of the Twentieth Century," *Yale Review,* XVIII (March, 1929), 459–60, 463; and "A 'Five Year Plan' for America," *Forum,* July, 1931, pp. 1-11, for further evidence of his interest in technology.

[41] *Discussion of Human Affairs,* p. 111.

[42] C. A. and Mary R. Beard, *The American Spirit* (New York, 1942), pp. 6–7; but compare all of chapter 1 with Albert Schweitzer, *The Philosophy of Civilization* (American ed., New York, 1949).

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measure from his preoccupation with things more American. He gave the Germans less than full attention because he was tumbling along in the roughhouse debate over American foreign policy and the increasing centralization of economic and political power, and because he was excited about his rediscovery of Brooks Adams. Beard seems first to have responded to Adams in 1920. At that time he described as "troublesome" the introduction which Brooks provided for the publication of Henry's essays on methodology and scientific history.[43] But there is no trace of Brooks, or of his ideas, in Beard's published writings from 1920 to 1938.

The shock of the Great Depression seems to account, directly or indirectly, for Beard's return to Adams. Those were the years, to be sure, when Beard was abandoning the goal of predictive realism. Yet the depression cast new light on Madison's general theory. For Madison had called the shot on that major crisis from the distance of a hundred years. He had written, in 1829–1830, that economic and political tension would reach a critical point in a century, when the nation's aggregate wealth was again static, largely in the hands of a few citizens, and intensively developed.[44]

Beard had the same trouble with Henry Adams. In 1920, when he was still strong on Madison's theory, Beard thought Henry's effort to create a science of history was a "barbed shaft into the center of the target." By 1936, when in full flight from predictive realism, Beard consigned Henry's work to the "realm of curiosities." But in 1937 it was difficult to forget Henry's prediction that a major turn in world history would occur about 1944. Henry looked even then to be something more than a disillusioned dilettante. By 1943 Beard had come full circle. Henry's ideas ranked "high among the most comprehensive, penetrating, and profound utterances ever made, at least in the United States, on the office of the historian and the nature of history."[45]

Thus in the very years that Beard most decisively discounted the search for a general theory he was forced to admit that James Madison and Henry Adams advanced good briefs for the opposition. Beard soon thereafter discovered that behind the fame of Henry stood the mind of Brooks. It is difficult to establish precise dates for these events which renewed Beard's interest in a general theory. But it seems reasonable to hypothesize that they occurred between 1936 and 1939. For one thing, Beard had the idea of a restricted number of frames of reference by 1935. And in 1936 he summarized

[43] "Henry Adams," *New Republic,* Mar. 31, 1920, p. 62.

[44] Beard's references to Madison's prediction may be found, among other places, in *America in Midpassage* (New York, 1939), II, 936–38; and in *The Republic: Conversations on Fundamentals* (New York, World Book ed., 1943), p. 286.

[45] "Henry Adams," pp. 62–63; "Currents of Thought in Historiography," p. 478; "Introduction," to Brooks Adams, *The Law of Civilization and Decay* (New York, 1943 ed.), p. 13.

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the other concepts he gained from the Germans. Yet his comments before a Senate subcommittee, at the end of January, 1937, on the proposal to license corporations at the federal level suggests that he was both familiar with and attracted by Brooks Adams' thesis on the steady and irreversible centralization of power.

Beard began his testimony by mocking the "futile antitrust battle of dust and wind" that had been going on for fifty years. Then he demanded that the federal government intervene to squash, once and for all, the "irresponsible and reckless . . . corporate jugglery" that threatened to ruin the country. This was quite in keeping, both in character and tone, with Brooks Adams' arraignment of Economic Man and his proposals for salvation.[46] Perhaps this testimony of January, 1937, sets too early a date, but there can be little question that Beard had rediscovered Brooks Adams by 1938. For, either late in that year or early in 1939, Beard wrote Malcolm Cowley that "Brooks Adams' two books are thumping [good]."[47]

Adams attracted Beard for several reasons. Perhaps the most important was that Brooks, with Henry, had evolved a general theory that appeared to stand the test of later events. "With striking emphasis," Beard pointed out in 1946, "history-as-actuality since 1900 has verified many of their predictions."[48] Adams also used concepts very similar to those that Beard found among the Germans. He had done much to synthesize the two approaches, moreover, linking his Imaginative, Military, and Economic men to the material world in which they appeared and thrived. Thus Adams offered Beard a general theory that not only predicted within high probability limits but went far toward establishing a comprehensive connection between economics, psychology, politics, and ideas.

Beard could no more have resisted the appeal of Brooks Adams than he could have sailed away from America as an emigrant. Every major piece of historical writing that Beard published after 1940 bore the impact of Brooks Adams' two major volumes: *The Law of Civilization and Decay* and *The Theory of Social Revolution*. Beard first mentioned Brooks directly in *America in Midpassage*. Then, beginning in *The American Spirit*, Brooks received more and more attention. Beard took over almost verbatim his interpreta-

[46] *Federal Licensing of Corporations: Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary on Senate Bill No. 10* (Washington, D.C., 1937), Part I, pp. 70, 72, 79. I am indebted to Professor Orde S. Pinckney, a colleague at the University of Oregon, for calling my attention to this testimony; it is not listed in the bibliography in *Beard*. C. A. Beard, "The Anti-Trust Racket," *New Republic*, Sept. 21, 1938, pp. 182–84.

[47] Quoted in *Books That Changed Our Minds*, ed. Malcolm Cowley and Bernard Smith (New York, 1939), p. 19.

[48] Comment in *Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography*, Social Science Research Council Bulletin 54 (New York, 1946), p. 13.

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tion of John Quincy Adams. In later pages he discussed at some length Brooks's thesis on the causes and patterns of human activity.[49]

A year later, in 1943, Beard republished, with a revealing and stimulating introductory essay, *The Law of Civilization and Decay*. And many of Beard's comments in *The Republic,* also published in 1943, are clearly related to the Adams thesis. Pehaps most striking of all is the space allotted to Adams in Beard's one-volume summary of American history, *A Basic History of the United States*. Beard gave approximately four pages of this small volume to a man he had ignored in the massive *Rise of American Civilization*.[50]

Nor can Beard's last two volumes on foreign policy be dissociated from his work with Adams.[51] The underlying theme of these volumes is Beard's fear that the inability to deal effectively with major domestic problems inclined political leaders to seek other explanations and solutions for their failure. Beard's concern with this tendency was apparent, of course, prior to his rediscovery of Adams. But the recession of 1937–1938 and Roosevelt's Quarantine Speech coincided with his intensive study of Adams. He began at this time to emphasize even more dramatically and militantly the ethics of centralized power.[52] The temper and tone of these last two books was unique among all Beard's work. Beard was a patriot of the highest quality and this explains much of his intensity. But it does not appear unreasonable to associate these volumes with Beard's growing familiarity with the ideas of Brooks Adams. Adams argued persuasively that Economic Man was incapable of stabilizing his own creation. Outsiders had to take command. If this new leadership did not appear, or if it failed to accept or measure up to its responsibilities, the centralized corporate system would stagnate or destroy itself in war. The similarity between this thesis and Beard's last book is, at any rate, suggestive enough to be pointed out.

Beard had been at first shy of the cyclic theme in the early work of Adams. He could no more accept an Adams cycle than a Darwinian or Marxian utopia. He solved this by emphasizing Brooks's final conclusion that the future could develop along any of three lines: a reversion to barba-

[49] *America in Midpassage,* II, 921; *American Spirit,* pp. 21, 158–61, 379–83.

[50] "Introduction," to Adams, *Law of Civilization and Decay. The Republic,* chap. XIII, and pp. 273, 284, 324, 336. One can not but wonder whether Beard's new emphasis, in *The Republic,* on the activities of military leaders after the Revolutionary War did not stem, in part, from his reading of Adams. C. A. and M. R. Beard, *A Basic History of the United States* (New York, 1944), pp. 303, 367, 378–79.

[51] *American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932–1940: A Study in Responsibilities* (New Haven, 1946); *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941: A Study in Appearances and Realities* (New Haven, 1948).

[52] G. R. Leighton, "Beard and Foreign Policy," in *Beard,* pp. 169–81.

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rism, stagnation, or a new resolution followed by further development. But Beard was denied the time to assimilate and use the Adams thesis. He was an actor in the very play he sought to understand. He could not spend himself warning of the dangers in the current scene and at the same time work out the plot for the next act. Thus his hurried revision of *The Economic Basis of Politics* was confused and self-contradictory. He attempted to transpose Adams into Madison. The translation was too rushed, too literal, and based on too little thought to be successful.

But once again Beard was trying to formulate and state a general theory. The struggle to comprehend, to know and understand, was ever the battle closest to Beard's heart. In this he stood a head taller than his contemporaries. They were content to write well of the particular. Beard aimed to speak significantly of the general. How well he knew exactly what he had in mind. "When I come to the end, my mind will still be beating its wings against the bars of thought's prison."[53] Indeed it was. And for that reason Beard will remain both a challenge and a measuring rod for American historians and their historiography.

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[53] Quoted by Goldman, in *Beard*, p. 7.

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# The Significance of Medicine in American History

Richard H. Shryock

AVERAGE life expectancy at birth, in the United States, is estimated to have been about thirty-two years in 1800. From this point it rose gradually to about forty-one in 1850 and to almost fifty in 1900. During the last half century, the increase accelerated and the figure reached approximately sixty-seven by 1950. Even males, the weaker of the two sexes, have now attained this limit. In a rough way, the rising expectancy up to 1900 can be credited to improvements in living standards, whereas acceleration in the rate of increase since that date can be ascribed to the impact of medical science.

No more basic change can come over the life of any people than such a rise in life expectancy. The phenomenon is characteristic of modern societies and is replete with social implications. It involves, at one end of the life span, the saving of vast numbers of young lives. It leads, at the other end, to the survival of increasing numbers of elderly persons—with all their attendant economic, physical, and psychologic difficulties. One may view this outcome as a fair exchange or even as a sign of progress. Were we to revive the disease conditions of 1850, consternation would ensue and we would face—in current parlance—a major threat to national security.

There are able critics, to be sure, who take a less optimistic view of medical achievements. It is pointed out that many whose lives are now saved by therapy, survive only in a state of chronic ill health. Since such persons may become burdens to themselves as well as to society, the question is raised: what price survival on these terms?[1] Whether or not the results have been ultimately beneficial, however, is beside the present point. For better *or* for worse, medicine has become one of the major institutions and influences in contemporary society. Stating the matter in terms of life expectancy is simply an abstract way of summing up a situation which expresses itself in many tangible forms.

In the economic field, for example, medicine has become big business. Total annual costs for medical services in the United States now exceed ten

[1] See, e.g., Peyton Rous, *The Modern Dance of Death* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), p. 48; Iago Galdston, *The Meaning of Social Medicine* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), pp. 32 and 82 ff.



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billion dollars.[2] The hospital system is one of our largest industries in respect to funds invested and numbers employed. So, too, has health insurance grown to the proportions of a major business. One phase of this, compulsory government insurance, became a political issue during the last decade; and controversy in this area will probably command public attention for some time to come. Meanwhile, the changing age distribution of the population has initiated a series of social reactions. These include pension plans, novel types of hospitals, programs for employing elderly workers, and migrations to Florida and California; to say nothing of new medical specialties and of a mushrooming literature on all aspects of old age.

The implications of modern medicine are by no means limited to domestic developments. One of the serious problems in world affairs, today, relates to the impact which science and public health programs are exerting upon so-called underdeveloped regions. Some of these areas are already densely populated, yet the United States is committed to encouraging the improvement of their health services. If, in consequence, death rates fall and birth rates are not lowered, the specter of overpopulation will become very real. Tensions will arise which may transcend national boundaries and affect the international relations in which this country is involved.

It is unnecessary to labor further the significance of medicine in our own day. But what lies behind the present complex of medical science and services: how did this phase of our civilization evolve, along with other social institutions, over preceding centuries? In some respects, the story is only one aspect of the larger history of science. Recent medicine has been largely a matter of applying physical and biologic science to the particular problems of human illness.

On the other hand, medical history is somewhat distinct from that of the physical and biologic sciences for two reasons.[3] First, some of the major trends in medical research—prior to the last seventy-five years—evolved in relative isolation from studies in the basic sciences. Second, the external or social history of medicine has been quite different from that of the other sciences. The interplay between medical science and its social environment was long more direct and intimate than was the case with sciences which seemed more remote from human concerns.[4]

[2] Odin W. Anderson, *National Family Survey of Medical Costs . . .* (Health Information Foundation, New York, 1954), p. 25.

[3] Cf. George Sarton, "The History of Science versus the History of Medicine," *Isis,* XXIII (1935), 313–20; and Henry E. Sigerist, "An Open Letter to George Sarton," *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine,* IV (1936), 1–13.

[4] R. H. Shryock, "The Interplay of Social and Internal Factors in the History of Modern Medicine," *Scientific Monthly,* LXXVI (1953), 221–30.

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It is true that the medical sciences, like others, have an internal logic of their own—a sort of intellectual homeostasis—which is independent of their cultural setting. The degree of this independence may not be as great as first appears, since ideas or values derived from a social context have a way of insinuating themselves into the thought of the most objective investigators. Yet situations do arise in which discovery *b* can follow only on discovery *a*, regardless of time, place, or circumstance. And if one restricts the account of a science to the development of this internal logic, then much of medical history may be treated, as noted, just as one theme in a general narrative about science.

Some scholars prefer to do this, holding that the history of scientific ideas should be detached from social and professional backgrounds. They are disturbed by the manner in which Marxian historians have correlated social factors and ideas, and they wish to avoid this procedure as a contamination of the history of pure science.[5] To some of us, this reaction seems like throwing the baby out with the bath. We are convinced that social factors and the developments internal to a science are interrelated, and that any history which does not present these relations gives but part of the story and is apt to be misleading.[6]

If this view is accepted, medical history should include both internal and environmental aspects. And in that case the subject, although overlapping with the general history of science, has a certain autonomy of its own. It may be envisaged by the general historian as analogous to the history of education or of religion since, like these two other fields, medicine meets a need which is basic to all societies. Obviously, the term "medicine" is being used here in a broad sense, as including all efforts to preserve health and combat disease. It therefore encompasses occult, religious, and folk healing as well as science; and it involves social medicine, public health, and "medical care" as well as individual, curative services.

So conceived, medicine cuts a wide swath and its record should be included in any general history which seeks to explain the present scene. Some historians may hold, of course, that they are not primarily concerned with the background of current developments: they wish to take their cues from the past rather than from the present. And if the past is to be studied for its own sake, or by way of contrast, then the historian should emphasize those things which appeared significant to contemporary observers. Such premises, how-

[5] See David Joravsky, "Soviet Views on the History of Science," *Isis*, XLVI (March, 1955), 3–13.

[6] A discussion of this theme, by the present writer, appears in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCIX (1955), 329 f.

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ever, lead to much the same conclusions as would "presentism," as far as medical history is concerned. There is no lack of evidence that our ancestors took medicine seriously, in a literal as well as a figurative sense. How else, when medicine was constantly concerned with their most vital interests—with life and with death and with so much that mattered in between?

Sometimes this interest in medicine took dramatic form, as during serious epidemics. Recall Boston in 1721, when smallpox attacked half the population and when preventive medicine was introduced by the clergy—for the first time in history on any scale—over the violent protests of physicians and townspeople alike.[7] Or picture Philadelphia in 1793, when yellow fever so terrified the town that federal, state, and local governments all disintegrated amidst general confusion. Everyone turned to the physicians for guidance and treatments, only to receive divided counsels and diverse therapy. The picture would be ludicrous were it not also tragic: with Benjamin Rush, patriot "signer" and physician extraordinary, proclaiming a sure cure through bleeding and purging. More realistic was his critic William Cobbett, who termed Rush's panacea "one of those great discoveries which are made from time to time for the depopulation of the earth."[8]

Epidemics frightened people into being good, in the sense that they led men to demand public health controls. For this reason we owe much to those diseases which happened to meet the specifications for arousing fear. Statues might well be erected, especially to yellow fever and to cholera, in commemoration of such services. But these were not the really devastating diseases: more menacing were the endemics which the public failed to take so seriously. Children's "complaints" and the chronic infections, malaria, hookworm, and tuberculosis: these were the millstones which ground slowly but exceeding small.[9]

There is no way now of measuring the results of endemic illness before 1900, yet these were far-reaching in the "sickly" American population of 1850 or even of 1875. Much so-called laziness in the rural South, for example, must have resulted from chronic malnutrition (grease and grits), hookworm infection, and malaria.[10] But rural America had no monopoly on medical problems. "Consumption" was the great scourge of the cities. Little was done

[7] Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 345 ff.; Otho T. Beall, Jr., and R. H. Shryock, *Cotton Mather: First Significant Figure in American Medicine* (Baltimore, 1954), pp. 93 ff.

[8] William Cobbett, *The Rush Light* (New York, Feb. 28, 1800), p. 49; John H. Powell, *Bring Out Your Dead* (Philadelphia, 1949), *passim*.

[9] Mazyck P. Ravenel, "Endemic Diseases versus Acute Epidemics," *American Journal of Public Health*, X (1920), 761 ff.

[10] R. H. Shryock, "Medical Practice in the Old South," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXIX (1930), 160 ff.

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about it and that little wrong. Indeed, the disease exerted after 1800 a sort of morbid fascination and is one of the few in history which was actually romanticized. A favorite subject among artists and literary lights, it was said to be a mark of genius; and many outpourings were devoted to the genteel female who went into a fascinating and hectic "decline."[11]

Despite this contribution of "TB" to art and letters, the masses did not enjoy the malady. But what could they do about it? Physicians shook their heads and declared it hereditary: fatalism seemed the easiest mental adjustment which could be made. Public attitudes must depend, in large part, on scientific knowledge and knowledge was inadequate. Yet medical science was actually making marked progress in the nineteenth century and this opens up a significant theme in the history of ideas.

How was it that Rush could declare in 1800 that there was only one disease in the world, that by 1850 this doctrine was considered nonsense, and that by 1950—in a much modified form—it once more could be taken seriously? Whatever may be true in the physical sciences, medical thought does not proceed onward and upward in a straight line. It moves, rather, in an ascending spiral; in the course of which it returns to earlier positions on a higher level of understanding and effectiveness.

Rush stood for a generalized pathology, according to which the body was capable of only one basic disease reaction regardless of the nature of adverse stimuli. In Rush's view, this reaction was a sort of vascular hypertension and it could be relieved by generalized treatments—chiefly by bleeding and purging. Having the courage of his convictions, he was ready to remove up to four fifths of the patient's blood when faced by any clear and present danger.[12]

In reaction against such sweeping theories, the great "Paris school" of 1800–1850 developed a localized, structural pathology aimed at the identification of distinct or specific diseases. This was done by correlating clinical observations with autopsy findings, a method which is still essential in current medicine. Specific pathology thus opened the way to research, whereas the older, generalized pathology was static: a thinker like Rush knew all the answers.

Most Americans of 1800 accepted generalized pathology and therapy as a matter of course, though such an observer as Jefferson was highly critical of prevailing concepts. But after 1825 the fame of Paris attracted American students, who later returned to the States to preach the new medical creed. With

[11] René Dubos, *The White Plague* (Boston, 1952), chaps. I–III.

[12] Benjamin Rush, "A Defence of Bloodletting," *Medical Inquiries and Observations*, 2d ed., IV (Philadelphia, 1805), 335.

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few exceptions, they did just that but no more: they failed to establish pathologic research in this country on the French model. Meantime, medical education was commercialized and the results were disastrous. Why this failure?

The easiest answer is the old cliché about a "new country." Yet the United States possessed, by 1850, all that research needed in the way of wealth, urban centers, and medical institutions. Perhaps the fact that the country was expanding rapidly had some import, since this apparently contributed to a deterioration of professional standards. (Westward expansion precipitated other difficulties besides those concerning slavery.) Yet the failure to establish basic science in this country goes deeper into the nature of our culture. Briefly stated, the explanation seems to lie in the traditional practicality of Americans. Those who shared this outlook saw little that was useful in pathologic investigations.

Of what value was it merely to identify maladies, if no means of prevention or cure were available? Imagine the plight of the patient who was told that his case could now be diagnosed as typhoid rather than as typhus, but who was informed in the same breath that nothing could be done for either condition. This attitude of "clinical nihilism" was adopted in the best centers after the Parisians re-examined traditional therapy and found it wanting. Almost as discouraging was the fact that clinicians, in concentrating attention on diseases as such, lost from view the patient as a person and saw him only as an "interesting case" of this or that. The trend did not make for considerate treatment in the wards. Hence scientific medicine tended to rob patients—especially the poor—of such hope and comfort as they had once had. Under these circumstances the American public had small inclination to support the pure curiosity of medical investigators.[13]

In due course many Americans also lost faith in regular medical practice and turned to the sectarians (homeopaths, Thomsonians, and others) who promised the cures which candid physicians no longer believed possible. These sects, in their appeals to the people, took on the protective coloring of current attitudes—notably of anti-intellectualism, equalitarianism, and romanticism. There was some suspicion of a learned profession and of its Parisian inspiration. Oliver Wendell Holmes, trained in France, is said to have remarked that all good Americans went to Paris when they died. But one would gather, from lay comments, that admiration for French medicine had little to do with this particular vision of immortality. Gallic methods were

[13] R. H. Shryock, *American Medical Research, Past and Present* (New York, 1947), pp. 30 ff.

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ridiculed as a mere vogue, and pious Americans distrusted French physicians as cold-blooded materialists.

The sects were all for liberty and equalitarianism. If unorthodox religion was tolerated, why not also unorthodox medicine? If anyone could minister to souls, why not also to bodies? And if the success of churches depended on the judgment of the people, so too should the fate of rival medical professions. A state senator at Albany, who wished to license irregulars, declared in 1844 that: "A people accustomed to governing themselves . . . want no protection but freedom of inquiry and freedom of action."[14] And a decade later, an editor of the *Democratic Review* suggested that the public choose between regulars and irregulars by comparing the death rates in their respective practices.[15] Thus did the common man declare his inalienable rights to life, liberty, and quackery!

Nineteenth-century romanticism pervaded medicine on all levels, although it was somewhat inhibited in the best centers by the positivism of French science. There was a medical as well as a literary version of transcendentalism, which led physicians to orate solemnly on Nature and on Nature's God. This enabled them to hide their lack of originality behind a dignified religious or metaphysical façade.[16] Sectarians and lay leaders were less restrained. The popular health cults of mid-century were inspired by the same ecstatic humanitarianism which characterized other social reform drives. Thus Sylvester Graham, of "Graham crackers" fame, envisaged an almost perfect world if men would but practice his "rules of life" and stay away from the doctors.[17] Hygiene became a sort of secular religion, in whose name the more devout were willing to lead a truly austere life.

One should not imply, by all this, that Americans took no interest in serious medical science. Certain individuals made technical contributions which were well recognized in Europe; for example, those of the pathologist Gerhard in Philadelphia, of the surgeon Marion Sims in Mobile and New York, and of the physiologist Beaumont on the Michigan frontier. Yet even those contributions which Americans did make reflected, in most cases, their utilitarian outlook. Advances in dental and gynecologic surgery are good examples. Outstanding, of course, was the discovery of anesthesia in the 1840's.

[14] C. B. Coventry, "History of Medical Legislation in the State of New York," *New York Journal of Medicine,* IV (1845), 160.

[15] *U. S. Democratic Rev.*, whole ser., XXXV (1855), 263 ff.

[16] See, e.g., D. L. Lord, *Introductory Lecture . . . at the Georgia Medical College* (Augusta, 1856), p. 11.

[17] R. H. Shryock, "Sylvester Graham and the Popular Health Movement," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XVIII (1931), 172 ff.

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The motivation for this achievement arose from current—and very practical—needs in dental practice. Having found means for repairing as well as pulling teeth, American dentists desired repeated visits from patients and some means for relieving the fears which this prospect aroused. General surgeons, in contrast, rarely expected to see the same patient a second time. Having long accepted the old pathology of humors and tensions, there had seemed to be little for them to operate on except obvious physical emergencies. Under these circumstances, there had been no strong incentive for revolutionizing traditional procedures. Indeed, when Humphrey Davy suggested the use of inhalation anesthesia about 1800, the idea was overlooked or ignored.

On the other hand, surgeons did adopt anesthesia rather promptly after Morton demonstrated it in 1846. But during just the interval between 1800 and 1846, generalized pathology had been superseded by specific, localized concepts of disease and possibilities for major surgery were beginning to appear. Greater interest was therefore developing in the whole field, and with this a desire for improved procedures. American dentists came up with an empirical answer and it was seized upon with enthusiasm. In this sense, anesthesia was a consequence as well as a cause of modern surgery.[18] Europeans provided the essential outlook, Americans the method which fitted nicely into this conceptual scheme.

The next great advance in surgical procedures—the introduction of antiseptic methods—grew out of basic studies in bacteriology. And here, it will be noted, American medical men played no part. A number of them had advocated the "germ theory" during the early decades of the nineteenth century, but did so only on the grounds of epidemiologic evidence. They never carried the problem into the laboratory and hence arrived at no solutions. Whether this was because experimentation seemed impractical, or because no time or means for pursuing it were at hand, or just because of lack of imagination, is not clear. Whatever the explanations, fundamental science eluded American physicians in this as in other areas.

Basic medical research was not really cultivated in the United States until it gave promise of many useful applications. This happy stage was reached, about the end of the last century, when bacteriology, endocrinology, and a new surgery emerged from specific pathology. A more effective pharmacology, based on physiology and chemistry, also contributed to the same end. Americans, trained in these fields in Germany, were able to establish medical

[18] Henry E. Sigerist, "Surgery at the Time of the Introduction of Antisepsis," *Journal of the Missouri Medical Association*, XXXII (1935), 169.

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research in this country as their French-inspired predecessors had been unable to do. The transit of culture was finally achieved after nearly three centuries of colonial dependence. The process was facilitated by the concomitant growth of wealth in this country and by the organization of the great foundations. These bodies made medical education and research, hitherto ignored by philanthropy, their chief beneficiaries.

As a result, the medical schools were transformed within a decade (1910–1920) and practice benefited accordingly. Here, again, the program came at an opportune time. Higher education as a whole was being thought out anew in this era and the process provided a favorable setting for reforms in professional training. Several leading medical schools, such as those at Harvard, Pennsylvania, and Michigan played important parts in the story. But it was no accident that the Johns Hopkins University, the first to emphasize research-centered, graduate programs, also provided outstanding leadership in the metamorphosis of medical education.[19] By about 1920, medicine in this country had attained the levels of European science and had surpassed them in some areas. The general status of medical science, indeed, afforded one of the best indications that American culture was approaching maturity.

It was at this point that medicine began to exert the influence upon society which was noted at the outset. In earlier periods the relations had been chiefly unilateral: social conditions had profoundly influenced medicine but the latter had had no marked impact upon society. Thereafter, these contacts involved a two-way process.

The public became aware, even before World War I, that medicine was making contributions of great utility, and further achievements were eagerly anticipated. This popular concern was reflected and further stimulated by contributions to the popular magazines. Articles of this sort have become so numerous, indeed, that physicians themselves now need to know what patients have learned from lay sources; and a journal with the title "What Patients Read" has been provided in this connection. The public, nevertheless, continues to express traditional attitudes. There is little understanding of the basic studies behind discoveries, but tremendous acclaim is given the man who puts that last, finishing touch on research which renders it immediately useful. This lack of understanding may lead to distortions in public policy and is probably the price we pay for having overlooked the history of medicine and of other sciences in our educational programs.

Meantime, the fact that medicine was exerting a real influence upon society

[19] R. H. Shryock, *The Unique Influence of the Johns Hopkins University on American Medicine* (Copenhagen, 1953), *passim*.

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posed new problems. Because the public was now impressed by "the wonders of modern medicine" there was an increasing demand for medical care. But the very progress which aroused this demand also made services more costly and therefore more difficult to provide. A paradox appeared: the more people desired medical care the less they could afford it. One way out was to revive the eighteenth-century idea of health insurance, of which a vestige survived in the Marine Hospital system. This idea was all the more congenial after 1910 because economic developments had led to a demand for social security, and health insurance could be easily envisaged as part of a larger security program. Medicine thus became involved in one of the major social trends of our time, despite the opposition of many physicians whose outlook was primarily an individualistic one. We are all familiar with the resulting controversy over government health insurance and with the concomitant evolution of voluntary insurance of the same type.[20]

While these interactions between society and medicine were under way, advances continued to be made within medical science. Technical progress ensued in many fields, but the public was naturally most impressed by therapeutic achievements—notably by the advent of the sulpha drugs, of the antibiotics, and of cortisone. Such drugs have increased the control over infections which was begun, more than two centuries ago, through preventive measures. Moreover, these same therapeutic advances—and especially the use of cortisone—have been associated with a partial return to generalized concepts in pathology. It is once more realized that the body reacts to adverse stimuli in general as well as in specific ways, and the employment of cortisone affects the general rather than the specific responses. Hence this hormone helps in treating various, quite distinct conditions—much as bloodletting was once believed to do.[21]

Hereafter, medicine must heed generalized as well as specific aspects of illness, and the former will include not only body reactions as such but also their relation to mental states and social backgrounds. Broader perspectives of this sort reflect the rediscovery of the patient as a person; that is, as a totality in which somatic conditions are interrelated with personality and the latter, in turn, with social and cultural circumstances. Familial or occupational tensions, as well as physical factors, may be involved in the genesis of disease. More attention, finally, should be given to the sociologic aspects of the healing

[20] R. H. Shryock, *The Development of Modern Medicine* (New York, 1947), pp. 403–30.
[21] See George W. Grey, "Cortisone and ACTH," *Scientific American*, CLXXXII (1950), 35 f.; Hans Selye, *Physiology and Pathology of Exposure to Stress* (Montreal, 1950), pp. 1 ff., 774 ff.

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arts and institutions, if these are to attain maximum effectiveness.[22] This orientation, although not yet well established, is basic and promising.

Today, with control over infectious and deficiency diseases well advanced, the great challenges to science are the mental, the malignant, and the degenerative diseases. There is no certainty that these problems will be solved in the near future, but they are being increasingly attacked on biologic and psychologic as well as on empirical levels. If science achieves a measure of control over these chronic conditions, comparable to that accomplished against many infections, the average life span will be further extended. Even a modest rise in this figure, say of three to five years, would have social repercussions.

Whether any major increase of life expectancy at birth can be now anticipated—such as actually occurred, 1900–1950—remains a somewhat speculative question. Condorcet, Franklin, and other eighteenth-century savants envisaged the indefinite prolongation of life as a goal of science; but it has been often pointed out that recent achievements have not extended the maximum (and presumably biologic) limits of the life span. If the day ever does come when a much higher expectancy is attained, the most momentous results would obviously follow. The future of society would then turn in no small degree on developments in medicine, much as the outcome in medicine has always depended in part upon trends within society.

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[22] See, e.g., Leo W. Simmons and Harold G. Wolff, *Social Science in Medicine* (New York, 1954), *passim;* also the work by Galdston cited in note 1 above.

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## General History

CARL BECKER: ON HISTORY AND THE CLIMATE OF OPINION. By *Charlotte Watkins Smith*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 225. $3.75.)

To the outsider, someone who never saw Carl Becker but merely came to read him one day, as he might have read any one of a dozen other sparkling historical writers, it may seem curious that for ten or eleven years Becker has been dead and still no substantial study of him has been published. A number of brief memoirs, of course, Leo Gershoy's and George H. Sabine's in particular, informal and intimate and charming. But no life. Perhaps, one might have concluded, there had been no life to write, nothing but an intellect at work. Perhaps Becker's work stood by itself, requiring no explanation and no defense.

Not everyone has thought so. Indeed, quite apart from anything else, there have been enough attacks upon Becker's relativist approach to make it worthwhile saying a little more about him. The present study attempts to define the limits of his thought, the art of his writing. Possibly someone will one day have a complete collection of papers at Cornell and sit down to write a full biography; the glimpses of him offered by his friends, and now by Mrs. Smith, suggest it could be a good one. The author has here limited herself principally to analyzing his work, not, however, without revealing the warm-hearted, outwardly cool, somewhat shy, culturally limited (music and art were evidently closed to him), sympathetic, and unorthodox teacher committed to the tragic view of man; a writer who found a theme, a skeptic, an intellectual relativist who established a scale of values and did what he could toward the end of his life to fight for them. Drawing on his occasional diaries and notebooks, his surviving letters, his files of notes and his formal works, as well as some of his friends, she has filled out the familiar picture, distinguished him successfully, I think, from Charles A. Beard, and reviewed again the inconclusive Becker-Mandelbaum debate. And not without recognizing the essential weakness of his philosophical frame of reference (the assumption that ultimate truth, that the possibility of knowledge itself, existed). For Becker never quite pursued relativism to the end. He was, to some extent, firmly committed. He therefore occupied a place somewhere between the positivists and the relativists *à outrance*. If it was not logical, it made sense to him in his time. And that was enough.

Every reader knows that Becker wrote well—all those drafts, the search for perfection, the effort. Thus two of Mrs. Smith's chapters may seem less than



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happy. Perhaps it is useful to try to dissect the art of writing, I don't know. Perhaps when you have a draft or two which you can compare with the finished work the temptation is irresistible. But you are bound, whoever you may be, to be somewhat clumsy about it. And does it really help the subject, or anyone else? Can you be sure why this word was struck out, and that one shifted from here to there? If it isn't exactly a mystery, isn't it all a little too personal a process to be communicated by some third person? Doesn't analysis here tend to suggest too much the crude mechanics of something highly subjective, sensitive, which can be experienced but hardly demonstrated? We are not Becker; we cannot even look over Becker's shoulder. Mrs. Smith does her best, but, to be frank, even this sometimes made me wince. Might not the shade of Becker repeat what once he said to another complimentary lady, "Well, Madam, for forty years I have been sitting behind a desk doing nothing but write and I should be able to express myself lucidly"?

One last niggling criticism. Surely to call him "Mr. Everybody's Historian" is to suggest some role he never had. Of course Becker was read. But he did not write *for* everybody; he never wrote *about* everybody. If he was interested in anything, it was not so much everybody's mind as the minds of the few, the more or less intellectual few. Mr. Everybody has never had a historian (not Green, not Macaulay), unless—as Becker might have said—it was Mr. Everybody himself. It could never have been this man who, as Mrs. Smith says of one of his books, was "filled with the tragic sense of life without being pessimistic; . . . humane and sympathetic without being sentimental." Whatever he may have been as human being, as historian Carl Becker viewed the past too subtly ever to have become a very popular author.

But to conclude: the study is a good one. Informative, careful, sympathetic, it is a fine introduction to one of the really fascinating historical thinkers and writers of our time.

*University of Toronto* JOHN C. CAIRNS

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES. Volume I, THE BIRTH OF BRITAIN. By *Winston S. Churchill*. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1956. Pp. xxii, 521. $6.00.)

THIS is a workmanlike account of the progress of the English from Early Man to Bosworth Field. The monographic literature has been abundantly drawn upon; some of the best of the sources have been quoted with effect. The author has had no easy task, to cover a long segment of the past and to make a good story out of it, and he is less gifted in narration than in exposition. He can explain British geology and archaeology; he can set forth situations and clarify issues. To tell what happened next he finds harder, until he comes to wars and battles, and then his prose becomes suddenly spirited and vivid.

Sir Winston has had much help from learned men who have checked and re-

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checked his chapters. He has not always allowed them full scope; he has insisted, perversely, it will seem to some, on including the good stories, appending the proper qualifications. Of Fair Rosamund and the silken thread he says: "Tiresome investigators have undermined this excellent tale, but it certainly should find its place in any history worthy of the name."

The well-known episodes, many of which we read long ago in Dickens' *Child's History of England,* of the White Ship, of the tanner's daughter of Falaise, of Hubert de Burgh and the blacksmith, etc., are to be found in this volume. Nor has the author forgotten Green's *Short History of the English People,* of which there are faint echoes. There is much familiar to old teachers of English history. Sir Winston has adopted the paradox that "capable rulers by their very virtues sow the seeds of future evil, and weak or degenerate princes open the pathway to progress." I wonder who started that paradox. I find it neither in Macaulay nor in Stubbs, though Stubbs came close to saying as much. Like Stubbs and other Victorians, Sir Winston writes of good and bad kings, in the manner parodied in *1066 and All That.*

Yet he does not see men in black and white; his characterizations are done with discrimination, as well as with zest. If he seldom makes his figures come alive—he is dealing with the dimly lit centuries—he has drawn on his understanding of men and events to give judgments upon those figures, their reach and grasp. He has, too, a Greek sense of the tragedy of the human career; he sees young men going forth in their strength to conquer and to organize; he glances at them as old men, tired and weak and disillusioned. He pauses at the death of Henry II, remembering, I feel sure, J. R. Green's unforgettable description of that scene, and then continues, "Such is the bitter taste of worldly power." Like the author of *Ecclesiastes,* he is constantly aware of the vanity of human ambitions. Much of this book was written in 1938 or before.

I have found it amusing to underline throughout the book sentences that have the authentic Churchillian ring. Sir Winston talks of the Lollards sympathetically and of their persecutions, and goes on: "Thus did orthodoxy and property . . . march together." He comments on the medieval village and says that "few lights burned after sundown." He closes the account of Richard Lion-Heart by appraising him as "worthy by the consent of all men to sit with King Arthur and Roland and other heroes of martial romance at some Eternal Round Table which we trust the Creator of the Universe in His comprehension will not have forgotten to provide."

Of more general interest are these two passages:

"Parliament in its youth was eager for war, improvident in preparation, and resentful in paying for it."

"There stood triumphant the Catholic Church, combining in a strange fashion Roman imperialism and Christian ethics, pervaded by the social and military system of the age, zealous for its own interests and authority, but still preserving all that was left of learning and art."

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The most significant feature of English history—at least as thus far written—has been the development of the constitution, the Curia Regis with its many offshoots, the common law with its gathered decisions, and parliament with its powers slowly won. In those subjects one can discern order and symmetry, beauty, and something like poetry. Sir Winston has been ably advised and assisted by students of the constitution and has avoided those hidden pitfalls that throw many a horse and rider. Cautiously he has moved over dangerous ground and has shown institutions in operation at different times, not overlooking the economic and social factors involved. He has failed, however, to put forward any great generalizations about the growth of the constitution, to quicken our pulses. Who indeed among living men could draw that bow? Yet much investigation has taken place on the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, if less on the fifteenth, and the time has nearly come for someone of sweeping views and daring imagination, preferably someone who has soiled his hands with rolls and manuscripts. The sweeping views of the amateur are not always helpful. But Sir Winston has extracted the meaning from many documents; he is a man of imagination in affairs, and of an experience granted to few historians. It is encouraging that he is always looking ahead to the Stuart period and it is possible that he will have more philosophy to offer there. This volume is but an introduction. In later volumes he will be treading the more solid ground of modern history. In any case, we must not ask too much of the greatest man of action of his time. Let us be grateful that such a man is bestowing thought on the course of English history and that in this volume he has already set down many incisive comments upon the rulers of men and their ways.

*New Haven, Connecticut* WALLACE NOTESTEIN

FEUDALISM IN HISTORY. Edited by *Rushton Coulborn*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 439. $8.50.)

THE book under review is the result of a conference on feudalism held at Princeton University on October 31 and November 1, 1950, under the general sponsorship of the Rockefeller Foundation and the American Council of Learned Societies. One of the purposes of the book is to explore "uniformities in history," of which feudalism is thought to be one. A brief introductory essay on the "idea of feudalism" by Joseph R. Strayer and Rushton Coulborn is called Part I, being followed by a series of eight chapters on the alleged feudalism of various times and places (Part II), with a final summation of the more important points made in these chapters and a comparative study of feudalism by Coulborn (Part III). The book falls into two quite different halves. The contributors to the first half (Part II) have given rather factual accounts of their assigned subjects: western Europe by J. R. Strayer, Japan during the Shogunate (E. O. Reischauer), China under the Chou and after the Han dynasty (Derk Bodde), ancient Mesopotamia and Iran (B. C. Brundage), ancient Egypt following the sixth and the twentieth dynasties

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(W. F. Edgerton), India (Daniel Thorner), the Byzantine empire (E. H. Kantorowicz), and Russia (Marc Szeftel). These chapters are all valuable syntheses of their subjects, rather rigorously historical in presentation. Their authors, unlike Coulborn, give no evidence of having been persistent readers of Darwin, Spencer, W. G. Sumner, and the modern anthropologists and sociologists.

Mr. Coulborn is a historical sociologist, well read in anthropology. His half of the book (Part III) traces the course of certain societies, chiefly the eight dealt with in Part II, from empire into the political and social disunion of feudalism, thence into periods of "nationalist" rivalries and finally into the reunion of empire. Coulborn has worked hard to show the occurrence of "uniformities" in the rise and fall of these societies; with less effort he could have shown the lack of uniformity.

If your definition of feudalism is sufficiently broad for it to lose the characteristic content of western European feudalism (fiefs, aids, relief, incidents, etc.), you can acknowledge the existence of feudalism in Japan, but even here you should contrast, say, the social seclusion of women in Japanese society with their conspicuous roles in European society. Who could imagine the courts of love and the dawn songs of the Provençal poets in Japan? But suppose such queries are unimportant or even irrelevant. The authors of Part II have still found little feudalism in their assigned areas. Bodde writes that the political aspects of feudalism, the importance of which is emphasized in the introductory essay by Strayer and Coulborn, "are found to be largely or totally absent under most of [the] major dynasties [in China]" (pp. 49–50). Brundage informs the reader that he "will not find a definitive judgment as to whether feudalism ever existed in the ancient Near East in anything approximating its full development in medieval Europe" (p. 93). To Edgerton "it seems sure that Egyptologists who have applied the term 'feudal' to certain periods of Egyptian history have not had in mind any such substantive concept of feudalism [as that in the introductory essay]," and that Egyptian institutions "were not truly feudal" (p. 120). (The consideration of Mesopotamian and Egyptian feudalisms are confined to antiquity: medieval Islam is not considered in the book; otherwise some profitable attention might have been given to the development of the *futūwah* by the caliph an-Nāṣir [1180–1225], which for a while looked a little like an order of chivalry.) Concerning India, Thorner says, "using feudalism, then, in the sense of a method of government . . . we have to conclude that neither the Rajput states nor the Muslim regimes of northern India were feudal" (p. 150).

Such were the discouraging judgments facing Coulborn when he gathered in his colleagues' chapters and studied them as the background for his comparison of feudalisms. Coulborn does not write with the vigor of Spencer or the lucidity of Sir Arthur Keith, but his genuine love of ideas has carried the reviewer through more than two hundred pages of (somewhat wordy) abstraction with much meandering back and forth through time and space. Coulborn begins with Sumner's famous contrast between in-groups and out-groups (pp. 191–92, quot-

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ing Sumner's *Folkways*, 3d ed., Boston, 1940, pp. 12–13), which remains basic to various aspects of his treatment of feudalism, much as in another realm, for example, Sir Arthur Keith introduced his theory of evolution with precisely the same text (*A New Theory of Human Evolution*, New York, 1949, pp. 12–13). Coulborn's essay contains many penetrating observations, but there are certainly historians who will be rendered uneasy by the statement that "a fief . . . is an in-group whose purpose is defence against out-groups" (pp. 289–90). It would be easy to quote other statements that some historians would want to qualify to the point of gainsaying.

This book is a broad, bold attempt to deal with the general idea, but not the particular institutions, of feudalism. Feudalism is a modern concept, something more than a century and a half old; there is nothing sacred about the term; it is quite proper to take it apart and put the pieces together in new patterns. This is what Coulborn has tried to do. Is feudalism a recurrent phenomenon in history? Only in a vague, unnegotiable sort of way. William Crooke, an authority on northern India, is quoted by Thorner (pp. 140–41) in protest against the superficial comparison of the tribal institutions of the Rajputs with European feudalism: "It is of little service to compare two systems of which only the nucleus is common to both, and to place side by side institutions which present only a factitious similitude, because the social development of each has progressed on different lines."

This criticism is relevant to the present book. It is far easier to compare and contrast, say, the work of the early Chinese alchemists with medieval Westerners' efforts to make gold. Despite the different motives of the two groups (Chinese alchemy having longevity for its main purpose), the data are specific, the problem manageable. The comparison of a variety of feudalisms is a much more difficult undertaking, which Coulborn has faced up to with honesty and courage.

*University of Pennsylvania* KENNETH M. SETTON

DER NEUZEITLICHE REVOLUTIONSBEGRIFF: ENTSTEHUNG UND ENTWICKLUNG. By *Karl Griewank*. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger. 1955. Pp. xv, 327. DM 13.60.)

PROFESSOR Karl Griewank's death in 1953 found his study of the concept of revolution in modern European history incomplete. Fortunately his pupil and assistant, Frau Dr. Ingeborg Horn, has been able by the exercise of great editorial skill to piece together the *Nachlass* into a sound whole, which has none of the unevenness, the obvious lacunae, so often found in posthumous works. No doubt Griewank, had he lived, would have expanded his treatment here and there, and notably for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; but even on Marx and Lenin he has left a clear final word.

This is a historian's book; it is not a sociology of revolution, not a study of revolution from the point of view still best labeled "philosophy of history." It is

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not of a piece with the work of Spengler, Toynbee, or Rosenstock-Huessy. It is in part a study in retrospective semantics. Griewank has asked himself, just what did a given political thinker or historian mean when he used the word "revolution"? Some of the most useful parts of the book are those in which the author traces carefully, from the end of the Middle Ages to the Romantic period, the various uses of the concept or idea of revolution. This is not a monograph, not an exhaustive study of any one country or period, but rather a sampling of a wide range of thinkers concerned with political, social, and cultural change. It is always complete enough to be soundly suggestive, as, for example, in its treatment of Machiavelli, Voltaire, or Herder.

Griewank has, however, a wider purpose than mere analysis at a semantic level. He has a more general thesis which makes this book a study in the history of ideas. Very briefly, he sees the development of the concept of revolution as essentially a characteristic of a modern world which can believe in planned change achieved by deliberate human action. Classical antiquity did not even have the word. The Middle Ages, with their belief in a divinely regulated *Gesamtordnung,* could not possibly mean by "revolution" what we mean. With Marx and Lenin the concept of revolution has widened to embrace a whole cosmology. In between, from Wyclif to Burckhardt or Ranke, it had gradually acquired a wealth of overtones—notably those which associate it with a dynamic of human destiny on this earth, with concepts of growth, progress—the careful tracing of which is the main thread of this suggestive book.

*Harvard University* CRANE BRINTON

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL, 1889–1914. By *G. D. H. Cole.* [A History of Socialist Thought, Volume III.] (London: Macmillan and Company; New York: St. Martin's Press. 1956. Pp. xvii, 518; viii, 519–1043. $16.00.)

THE high standard of exposition, analysis, and literary craftsmanship evidenced by Professor Cole in the first two volumes of his still-to-be-completed "History of Socialist Thought" is continued here in Volume III. The first of the three parts into which this volume is divided treats the organizational activities of the loosely federated Second International. Until 1905 the delegates to its congresses were primarily involved in discussions of industrial and political problems and debates on "participationism" and "revisionism," both of which were roundly condemned. But after 1905 the heightening imperialist and nationalist rivalries invoked increasing discussion of proper tactics in the face of threatening war or the outbreak of war itself.

War, it was recognized, was socialism's Achilles' heel. Not only could it be used as an excuse to crush the antimilitaristic socialist movements but it could also solidify the powers of existing governments and postpone indefinitely the orderly and democratic transfer of political power which socialists, with unwarranted optimism and justification, imminently hoped to achieve. But it was also

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clear that the socialists, particularly the German Social Democrats, had no intention of jeopardizing their own hard-earned political position by opposing their governments on matters of national concern. The famous antiwar resolution adopted by the 1907 Stuttgart Congress, while calling on socialists to use all possible parliamentary means to avert war, did not ask for a general strike or an insurrectionary movement to exert pressure on war-bent governments. Perhaps such may have been implied in the vaguely worded resolution, but at best this is highly conjectural.

Certainly the socialist leaders in the belligerent countries abided by the Stuttgart resolution until the actual outbreak of war. Those who accuse the socialist parties of failing in the hour of supreme crisis may be asked whether the socialists in 1914 had the power, even if they wished to exert it, to bring the masses out into the streets and whether such demonstrations would have deterred the leaders of their governments. Professor Cole believes that it is hardly likely that they would.

This brings up, in effect, the great dilemma of international socialism which is discussed in part three (part two is a country-by-country study of the various Social Democratic, labor, syndicalist, and social revolutionary movements). Throughout the early years of the twentieth century the Social Democratic movement, despite its official condemnation of Bernstein's "revisionism" and its repeated declarations of faith in "revolutionary socialism," was moving steadily to the right. The need to broaden the base of the parties required such a course of policy, as the proletariat—and obviously not all proletarians were Social Democrats—was not in itself enough to give the socialists in any country a decisive political majority, one which would allow them to capture political control both legally and democratically. Also, it was a recognition that contemporary issues, particularly those involving social and economic reform, had to be faced lest socialists be charged with obstructionism. But herein came the rub. Despite the rise of large socialist parliamentary parties in western Europe, nowhere were the socialists even in sight of the majority that would allow them to take power. In point of fact the debates on revisionism versus revolution were largely verbal, as one could be both a revisionist and a revolutionist without an implicit contradiction. For what the Social Democrats meant essentially by "revolution" was simply the replacement of the capitalist state by the co-operative commonwealth.

Professor Cole has had to dig deep into an enormous amount of socialist literature. As might be expected his treatment of the various socialist groups and Social Democratic parties varies to the degree of his mastery of materials and his personal knowledge of the movement. For example, one finds excellent characterizations of the British socialist leaders generally lacking elsewhere. But all in all his labors have been exceedingly fruitful and one may eagerly look forward to Volume IV.

*University of South Carolina* HOWARD H. QUINT

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EUROPE'S CLASSICAL BALANCE OF POWER: A CASE HISTORY OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF ONE OF THE GREAT CONCEPTS OF EUROPEAN STATECRAFT. By *Edward Vose Gulick*, Department of History, Wellesley College. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press for American Historical Association. 1955. Pp. xvii, 337. $5.50.)

THE present book reflects the author's conviction that the balance of power has never been written about in adequate detail. This may have been due to the fact that, as Cobden expressed it, the theory was never translated into practice and that therefore the balance of power was merely a chimera which existed only "in the precincts of the politician's brain" and which, in actuality, was "an undescribed, indescribable, incomprehensible nothing." It is more likely, however, that the lack of extended analysis is attributable to the fact that the principle of balance of power was too simple and obvious to warrant elaborate argument. After all, it was, as Francis Bacon pointed out, an elementary rule, "that princes do keep due sentinel, that none of their neighbours do overgrow so (by increase of territory, by embracing of trade, by approaches, or the like) as they become more able to annoy them than they were." In any event, Professor Gulick is plainly disappointed to have found so little. His analytical review, while clear and reasonable, does not mark a significant advance over earlier writers. One cannot, in fact, help regretting that he did not investigate more fully the varying conceptions of what constituted a balance according to times and places, or the changing standards of measurement of power, such as territory, population, resources, trade, armed forces, etc. It might likewise have proved profitable to examine a little more closely Cobden's contention that princes tended to view the balance with "a Cyclopean eye" to their own aggrandizement rather than with an eye to their own security and the preservation of the states system. Finally, something might be learned from a study of the nature and methods of the combinations organized from time to time in defense of the balance of power.

Actually only a third of Professor Gulick's book is devoted to consideration of the theory. The remainder consists of a review of the diplomacy of the period 1813–1815 with an eye to determining the importance of the doctrine of balance of power in the construction of the great coalition against Napoleon and the subsequent remaking of Europe. This field has been so well plowed by others that the author has been unable to do much more than call attention to specific references to the principle, and to point out various instances of its application. He might have made some contribution had he attempted to analyze the relative weight given to state interests, to the famous barrier policy, and to the nascent idea of the concert of powers.

Professor Gulick repeatedly uses the word *equilibrist* as an adjective applying to statesmen and policies. Neither Webster nor the Oxford Dictionary gives any warrant for this use. Since Webster defines the noun as "one who balances himself in unnatural positions and hazardous movements," I suggest that the

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word might well have been avoided. In a serious study care might also have been taken to guard against such statements as those on page 97 (the French military spirit, "fathered partly by a degeneration of fiery revolutionary principles"), page 257 (the final act of the Congress of Vienna provided international lawyers with "a fascinating new toy"), and page 270 (after Waterloo "the statesmen of the smaller powers flew around Paris like ill-fed horseflies, buzzing the urgency of a partition").

*Harvard University* WILLIAM L. LANGER

THE MEANING OF YALTA: BIG THREE DIPLOMACY AND THE NEW BALANCE OF POWER. By *John L. Snell, Forrest C. Pogue, Charles F. Delzell,* and *George A. Lensen.* Edited by *John L. Snell.* With a Foreword by Paul H. Clyde. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1956. Pp. xiii, 239. $3.75.)

DURING the last year the evidence on the Yalta conference, already voluminous and scattered, has been greatly increased by the bulky Department of State volume *The Conferences of Malta and Yalta, 1945,* the Department of Defense mimeographed report *The Entry of the Soviet Union into the War against Japan: Military Plans, 1941–1945,* and several significant biographical and autobiographical accounts. The authors of this small volume have rendered a valuable service by evaluating and summarizing this mass of evidence.

Forrest C. Pogue sets the stage by a swift review of the war aims of Britain, Soviet Russia, and particularly the United States, and by sketching the military situation on the eve of the conference. He properly emphasizes the conviction in Washington that co-operation with the U.S.S.R. "was essential and must be obtained," and the fact that the military situation gave the Russians great bargaining power.

John L. Snell then examines the negotiations with regard to Germany, centering the story on the contrast between the "Morgenthau plan" of 1944 and the "moderation" of the American position on Germany at Yalta. There are, as Dr. Snell points out, many gaps in our knowledge of the "Morgenthau plan," and he urges that "Morgenthau should provide historians with a full and frank account of his motives and his actions." At Yalta, the Russians, "sounding more like Morgenthau every minute," sought to break German power permanently. Churchill and Roosevelt had no desire to create a power vacuum in central Europe, but they were unable to do more than postpone decisions on the dismemberment of Germany, on reparations, and on the eastern frontier of Germany.

On the discussions at Yalta concerning the fate of Poland and the states of southeastern Europe it is impossible for anyone to write either from firm knowledge or with complete detachment. Charles F. Delzell's account of this most difficult and painful part of the negotiations is as unbiased as can be expected at this time, but the result of his efforts to do justice to all of the contestants is to

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leave many aspects of the problem obscure. In particular, the duplicity of the Russians with regard to the vital question of free elections does not become obvious.

George F. Lensen's chapter on "Yalta and the Far East" stresses the fact that "the United States did not 'give away' at Yalta anything that it was within her power to withhold except by making war against her Russian ally." But on the motivation of both American and Soviet policy in the Far East this chapter is open to debate.

The volume closes with two chapters by Forrest Pogue, one on the United Nations, the other on "Yalta in Retrospect." As factual summaries, these chapters tell the story admirably. However, in his anxiety to prove that Yalta was not in fact a "betrayal and sellout," Mr. Pogue occasionally goes beyond the evidence.

Indeed, one can say of the volume as a whole that, while it is a most useful summary of the available evidence, it does not make clear the *meaning* of Yalta, as the title promises.

*University of California, Berkeley* RAYMOND J. SONTAG

## Ancient and Medieval History

GREEK SCIENCE IN ANTIQUITY. By *Marshall Clagett.* (New York: Abelard-Schuman. 1956. Pp. xii, 217. $4.75.)

To write a new book on Greek science requires a certain amount of daring in the face of existing works by such masters as J. L. Heiberg, George Sarton, A. Reymond, Charles Singer, P. Brunet, and A. Mieli. Such a book must be at least the equal of its predecessors, it must encompass the collective findings of the monographic literature, and it should add something new. It is, therefore, a sign of Professor Clagett's gifts as a historian that he has achieved these three goals and that he has composed a book that will at once satisfy the highest professional standards and the needs of the nonspecialist.

Writing primarily for the student reader and the general historian, Professor Clagett's major aim has been to produce an introduction to medieval and early modern science. The title sounds like a tautology, but it was the author's intention to clarify his purpose thereby. In antiquity there was more than a Greek science; for instance, there was a Mesopotamian science and there was a Chinese science and also a Hindu science. The stress on "Greek science in antiquity," therefore, derives from a primary concern for that science which led eventually to the great scientific revolution in the West, consummated in about 1600–1800, but with rumblings in late medieval Europe and with more distant origins in Islam and in ancient Greece. Professor Clagett does not ignore the sciences of antiquity other than the Greek, but he tries to stress those elements that were eventually fused with the Greek tradition.

"Greek science in antiquity" has another signification, because there are pos-

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sibilities of a book on, say, Greek science in Islam or Greek science in the Middle Ages. One of the most attractive parts of Professor Clagett's book is Part Two, dealing with late antiquity, where he presents information on science and spiritual forces and contributes a valuable essay on science and patristic literature. In the conclusion, there is a chapter on Latin science in the early Middle Ages and one on Greek science in the age of Justinian. Finally, there are appendixes containing technical theorems and proofs from ancient mathematics and exact physical science.

This well-written book should serve admirably as a textbook for courses in the history of science and as a source of outside reading in courses in general cultural history. Even more, it should delight and inform anyone who wishes to see in its early stages the way human reason and ingenuity has tried to comprehend and to order the bewildering array of experience of natural phenomena.

*Harvard University* I. Bernard Cohen

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND MODERN SCHOLARSHIP. By *Solomon Zeitlin*. [Jewish Quarterly Review, Monograph Series, Volume III.] (Philadelphia: Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning. 1956. Pp. xvi, 154, plates.)

In the early spring of 1948 the discovery of the original lot of Dead Sea Scrolls was announced by the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem and the Hebrew University. Professor Solomon Zeitlin immediately took an uncompromising stand against them, calling them a "hoax." For years he refused to define this ambiguous term, but recently he came out specifically for a medieval date, though he has nowhere insisted that they are all genuine and presumably still admits the possibility of a certain amount of forgery. Meanwhile cave after cave has been found—generally by local Beduin—and completely excavated by European and American archaeologists. The discovery of new caves containing scrolls of sheepskin has continued ever since, and the mere fact that nearly all the original scrolls are preserved only in fragments does not alter the fact that they were once whole. The latest find of complete scrolls was made in February, 1956. There have been several careful campaigns of excavation at the quasi-monastic installation at Khirbet Qumran, overlooking the northwestern shore of the Dead Sea and within a stone's throw of several caves containing manuscripts. Hundreds of datable coins, quantities of pottery, and fragments of writing from the "monastery" establish the fact that it was occupied from about 100 B.C. in two phases down to the year ending in A.D. 69, when Vespasian overran the region and destroyed Jewish settlements in it. Moreover, two radio-carbon counts, one in Chicago and the other in Pittsburgh, yield a date between about 175 B.C. and A.D. 50 for the harvesting of the flax from which was made the linen in which the scrolls of Cave 1 were once wrapped.

Internal evidence is just as convincing. The script, represented by hundreds

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of different hands, is dated by all competent paleographers either between the third century B.C. and the middle decades of the first century A.D. (at Qumran), or between the middle of the first century A.D. and the end of the Second Jewish Revolt in A.D. 135 (at Murabba'at). The content seems to nearly all specialists who have written on the subject during the past five years to agree perfectly with a time of composition no later than these dates. The Jewish sectarians who occupied the area have been identified by nearly all students with the Essenes. Light on the history of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament and the Jewish background of the New Testament is revolutionary in its significance to scholars—though its novelty has been unduly stressed by some specialists and many non-specialists.

Against this evidence Zeitlin brings arguments which belong for the most part in courtrooms and debating arenas, and which have little to do with serious scholarship. The first short paragraph of his introduction misquotes the reviewer drastically, and the rest of the monograph (mainly consisting of material reprinted from the pages of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* during the past seven years) swarms with slips of the pen, printers' and proofreaders' errors, as well as with innumerable misunderstandings and baseless arguments of every kind. This reviewer is unable to accept a single argument presented by the author and recommends critical examination of every sentence in the book.

*Johns Hopkins University* W. F. Albright

ANCIENT ITALY: A STUDY OF THE INTERRELATIONS OF ITS PEOPLES AS SHOWN IN THEIR ARTS. By *Gisela M. A. Richter*. [Jerome Lectures, Fourth Series.] (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1955. Pp. xxiv, 137, plates. $15.00.)

Though this book was written as a study of art for students of art, it is of great value to the historian as an informative account of the vast and complex archaeological material (except architecture) from the hand of an outstanding authority. The main theme of the book is the Roman imitation and adaptation of Greek originals. The historian will note that Rome's insatiable demand led to mass production of replicas of famous sculptures made possible by invention (*ca.* 100 B.C.) of an apparatus for mechanical copying of statues. The known contributions of Rome, in portraiture and in narrative reliefs, are commented upon briefly in the last chapter. It is perhaps a pity that only thirty pages have been allotted to Italy before the Roman age. As to the historical problem intimated in the subtitle of the book, the author's interest is genetic, her main concern is with "influences," and the main thread of her interpretation is that of nationality. Though she stresses the fact that the masters of Roman art were mostly Greeks, she speaks of "Roman" of "Greek" or "Etruscan," etc., arts, as if these convenient labels were living constants of history. For the verism of Roman portraits the author seeks antecedents

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in Hellenistic art (cf. her paper in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1955, pp. 39 ff.). The factual tendency of Roman portraits is explained by "a strictly practical outlook of the Romans" (p. 28)—as if the Athenians of Aristophanes, who demanded idealized portraits, walked on a cloud. In fact, the age which saw the emergency of Roman verism was also one of Roman revolution. Yet, it is injust to demand more from a book than its author has set out to give. It is a remarkable achievement to have covered so much ground in so small a space, and to have found a place to relate Italian works to the Greek arts. The volume is generously illustrated by some three hundred reproductions on plates.

*Columbia University* ELIAS J. BICKERMAN

ROME ET SON EMPIRE. By *André Aymard* and *Jeannine Auboyer*. [Histoire générale des civilisations, t. II] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1954. Pp. 783.)

THIS, the second volume in the "Histoire générale des civilisations" published under the direction of Maurice Crouzet, continues the first one, written by the same authors, *L'Orient et la Grèce Antique* (see this journal, July, 1954, p. 905), through the period when the Roman Empire provided a united framework for much of ancient civilization until its eventual dissolution. In the preface to the first volume the general editor explains that the series is directed toward the general cultivated reader, hence will dispense with references and critical discussions, and will be content with a summary bibliography. It is not intended to present a philosophy of history but rather to describe and to explain its course. Judged by this standard the volume before us achieves a high degree of success. It is a description of the major aspects and trends of the civilization of the Roman period, taking account of the many interdependent relations of political, economic, social, religious, and intellectual factors rather than the record of events; so much so, in fact, that the ordinary cultivated reader in this country will have to go beyond the helpful chronological tables at the end of the volume to a connected history of the events that form the background of the discussion. Yet the authors have a keen eye for the relation of cause and effect, and much reflection as well as erudition lies behind the judgments and the comprehensive views that they present. Where interpretations are disputable or the evidence uncertain the fact is clearly noted. In a work of this scale, examples, however illuminating, must be few, and on many of the main questions one must go to more detailed works for the evidence on which the judgment is based. Too often it is necessary to make remarks such as, on page 164, "il serait vain de prétendre exposer ici, dans un détail parfois très contesté, l'évolution de la législation agraire." The bibliography, though up to date, is scanty and insufficient for international scholarship. The illustrations are excellent but lack commentary which would relate them to the text.

Initial chapters deal with the civilizations—Etruscan, Gallic, and Punic—which

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yielded to Rome and mark the contributions they made. Rome itself is treated under three headings: the civilization of republican Rome, that of the Roman "unité" of the first two centuries of our era, and finally that of the Late Empire, in which the Severan dynasty and the military anarchy of the third century are with due warning and not without justification included. The last section, by Mlle. Auboyer, deals with East Asia, primarily India and China, from the beginning of the Christian era to the end of the fourth century. Within each section, subtly changing proportion with the changes in material, the treatment of political, economic, social, religious, and, finally, intellectual and artistic aspects of civilization follows a set order.

Within this framework the connection with the previous volume is kept by frequent references to the continuance, or the development with Roman mutations, of elements of Hellenistic civilization. Emphasis on Roman expansion and its effect, the creation of a Mediterranean world, has limited discussion of Rome before the Punic Wars and of the important question how far a tradition of relationship with other communities and of extension of citizenship, so important to the unity of the empire, was created then in Italy. References to trade and travel in the East are used to link the section on East Asia with the part which is unified by Rome, but it remains a somewhat artificial addition, since India and China appear to have their own historical rhythms which do not accord fully with the main divisions of Western history. In a canvas which extends from the wall of Antonine to Korea and Japan there should be more on so central a power, at least geographically, as Parthia, and perhaps more on the cultures (if not yet civilizations) of the nomads of central Asia.

The work, however, is informed by a lively sense of the interconnection between the several aspects of a civilization, for example, the effects both of the failure of the citizen army under the republic and of a costly professional army under the empire on an economy too thin and too burdened by the demands of Rome and of the upper classes to stand up in a time of general stress. Like Rostovtzeff, whom he quotes, the author makes much of urbanization and the contrast between city and country. But this may be carried too far: how may a city be separated from its *territorium*? Like Rostovtzeff also, he sees the element making for social revolution during the military anarchy in an army recruited largely from the country, but he is aware how far the necessity of crushing opposition, as at Byzantium under the Severi, or of securing funds to pay the soldiers and carry on the government may explain the evidence. The pressures and needs that created the bureaucracy and led to the statism of the Late Empire are well described. Had Professor Boak's recent work, *Manpower Shortage and the Fall of the Roman Empire in the West,* been available, there might have been more emphasis on this factor which so insidiously conditioned military, social, economic, and administrative aspects all at once, a splendid illustration of the interconnection in which the author is so interested.

Again, in the cultural field emphasis rests upon the continuity of Greek and

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Hellenistic influences amid Roman adaptations and contributions, but recognizes Rome's attainment of literary maturity and her sense of the importance of her own history. It was in sculpture and painting that she was less original, as her own writers recognized. The achievements of the Augustan Age and the early empire reviewed, the author describes how with the unity of the empire a common culture, based on a common education and on a real bilingualism in most of it, marked, in spite of local variations, the fulfillment of Alexander's dream. But the question why this unity produced so little intellectual advance, though discussed, remains easier to ask than answer. A fixed scheme leads to treatment of the Christian fathers in their literary aspect as late representatives of the forms learned in the standard rhetorical education, but weakens appreciation of their place, not unknown to the author (see pp. 427, 583), as new voices which reject many of the central values of the classical past.

Errors of fact are remarkably absent in a work of such scope. The dispute about the year of Caesar's birth makes him a poor example of one who attained office *suo anno* (p. 115). It is at least uncertain that the denarius was the coin devalued during the Second Punic War (p. 132). The knights received special seats at the shows under the Lex Roscia of 67 (p. 140), not from C. Gracchus. But in each of these cases the tendency noted is correct. This book contains too little narrative history for a beginner and too little presentation of evidence for a specialist. It finds its place as a stimulating survey, at once thoughtful and comprehensive, of the civilization of the Roman world.

*Bryn Mawr College* T. Robert S. Broughton

THE FAILURE OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC. By *R. E. Smith,* Professor of Ancient History in the University of Manchester. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1955. Pp. viii, 202. $4.75.)

The thesis of this very interesting book is that the Roman state, with the senate in control, was still in harmony in 133 B.C., that the senators were gradually working out a system of empire and would have found a solution if the Gracchi had not undermined the prestige and authority of the senate by referring their measures to the people without senatorial support; that the policies introduced by the Gracchi created a "spiritual crisis" that was the "first cause" of the failure of the Roman Republic in the century of revolution, an era well described by the author as the "progeny and progenitor of success." The book is vividly and cogently written, and there is much that is suggestive, particularly in the discussions of literature and religion (which was not, however, as divorced from politics in the pre-Gracchan period as Professor Smith believes). The volume can be read with pleasure and profit by every student of the history and literature of the period.

But this reviewer disagrees with Professor Smith's premise that the Roman state was in harmony in 133 B.C., not discounting, as he does (chapter VII), the

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effect of the influx of wealth, of the growth of large estates worked by slave labor, and of the consequent diminution of the numbers of small farmers who had once manned the Roman legions. The lack of recruits for the legions, a major reason for Tiberius Gracchus' land law (see pp. 62 f.), was accompanied by a lack of voters in the Roman tribes, many of which became "rotten boroughs," and by an increase in the landless proletariat that presented a social problem of great magnitude. A selfish aristocracy in control of the senate had rejected an earlier plan to rectify the situation. Tiberius was right in taking his land law directly to the people without the authority of the senate. He had precedents in the legislation of C. Flaminius in 232, of C. Valerius Tappo in 188, in the activity of the tribune C. Licinius Crassus in 145, and probably in the two laws providing secret ballots, carried by tribunes of 139 and 137. The really revolutionary act of Tiberius Gracchus was the deposition of the opposing tribune Octavius, an act that, combined with Tiberius' campaign for re-election, led his senatorial opponents to the extremity of revolution—the murder of an inviolate tribune. Both sides were responsible for inaugurating the hideous century of revolution that followed, but the prime cause for the failure of the republic must be sought in the effect of the spoils of empire on the body politic.

*Bryn Mawr College* LILY ROSS TAYLOR

DIE NICHTLITERARISCHEN LATEINISCHEN PAPYRI ITALIENS AUS DER ZEIT 445–700 Volume I, PAPYRI 1–28. TAFELN. By *Jan-Olof Tjäder*. [Svenska Institutet i Rom, Skrifter 4°, XIX, 1, 3.] (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup. 1954, 1955. Pp. 522; xiii, 160 plates.)

THIS is the first comprehensive and independent edition of the Ravenna papyri since Marini's *Papiri diplomatici* of 1805. They are legal instruments for the most part which have in common the fact that the church there was an immediate or eventual beneficiary. Most of Marini's other texts, notably papal and Merovingian documents, have been re-edited, often several times. But the Ravenna papyri present formidable obstacles: they are widely scattered, their content is often obscure, many are poorly preserved fragments, and their hands are difficult for the most experienced paleographer. Dr. Tjäder has been preparing this edition since 1948, and various grants have permitted him to devote several years entirely to it. The volumes, handsomely printed on excellent paper, are themselves evidence of the liberal support given to scholarship in Sweden, and are quite appropriate for what will surely be a standard work for decades.

The first volume includes general introductory materials, papyri 1–28, a full bibliography, and indexes. The second, to appear shortly as Volume XIX, 2, in the same series, will contain papyri 29–55. The third is a set of excellent plates completely reproducing all the texts in the collection, in their present state with one exception. There is no need to stress their importance and value.

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The introduction in Volume I contains sections on such expected topics as the Ravenna archive, the dispersal and fate of its papyri, earlier editions, and orthography and phonetic changes. However, the longest and most important parts are, first, a series of concordances and detailed catalogues intended to cover all known medieval Latin texts on papyrus from western Europe, both literary and documentary, whether extant or lost (pp. 33–72); and, secondly, a full and expert discussion of the hands (pp. 86–146). Tjäder is quite aware that many other topics might have been covered, and historians would have welcomed an analysis of the complex historical setting, with its mixture of peoples and institutions, by the scholar who knows these documents most intimately. But he was certainly right not to delay publication in order to make the introduction more comprehensive.

Tjäder's essential contribution of course is the revision of the papyri and the elucidation of the texts. He has studied the originals in all cases except four, in which he had to be content with photographs. Marini often had to rely on faulty transcriptions of others. As one would expect, Tjäder's readings are substantially more accurate and fuller than any hitherto available, and there are improvements even in the texts recently studied by other scholars. Further, Tjäder's careful analysis of formulas and procedures enables us to understand the fragments especially far better than ever before. Each category of texts has an elaborate introduction, tracing the development of legal forms and presenting parallels and the literature for both the classical and medieval periods. Each text in turn has its own introduction, a translation, and a full commentary. The chief category covered in Volume I is gifts (nos. 10–28); others include wills, a receipt, and a manumission.

In dealing with a work of this scope and high excellence, minor corrections or additions to bibliography would be out of place. Two points, however, seem to deserve comment. Tjäder's decision to print only texts of which the originals have survived, though actually several exceptions are made, means that one must still go to Marini for five papyri that fall within the limits of the present work. It would be well worth the space required if they could be included in an appendix to Volume II. Again, the fact that the first two volumes will have separate indexes will certainly confuse casual users of the work who are looking up one or two words. But perhaps they deserve no more consideration.

In summary, this is a product of meticulous and solid scholarship presented in an attractive and convenient form. One may hope that it will encourage others to investigate a period too often neglected by medievalists and ancient historians alike. Dr. Tjäder has himself discovered an important new papyrus of 425–450 since these volumes were in press (p. 66) and announces his intention of also publishing another of a later date (p. 49).

*State University of Iowa* J. F. Gilliam

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LE MOYEN AGE: L'EXPANSION DE L'ORIENT ET LA NAISSANCE DE LA CIVILISATION OCCIDENTALE. By *Edouard Perroy, et al.* [Histoire générale des civilisations, t. III.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1955. Pp. 681.)

THIS is the third in a seven-volume general history of civilizations of which five other volumes have now been noticed in this *Review* (LIX, 80, 905; LX, 58; LXI, 606; and above, p. 105). It treats both European and Asiatic cultures during the period from Theodosius the Great and Chandragupta II to the discovery of America. The first part, entitled "Prééminence des civilisations orientales (v$^{e}$–x$^{e}$ siècles)," is about evenly divided among three topics: the decline of Roman society and the growth of post-Roman, Germanic civilization, the rise of Islam and developments in the Near East, and the cultural history of Asia (India, China, the nomads, Malaya, and Japan). The second part, "Les temps de l'Europe féodale, de l'Islam Turc et de l'Asie Mongole (xi$^{e}$–xiii$^{e}$ siècles)," is not so long as the first. Two thirds of this is devoted to feudal Europe (an unusually interesting description), the rest to the Moslems and Mongols. The third part, "Les temps difficiles (xiv$^{e}$–xv$^{e}$ siècles)," is almost entirely European, except for a chapter on the Ottoman Turks. This is a very effective synthesis of a confused period. At the end there is an extensive, select bibliography and an elaborate chronological table. There are eighteen useful, simplified maps and nearly fifty excellent illustrations.

Most readers of this *Review* are familiar with the trend in American college teaching which emphasizes the history of civilization and which has produced numerous college texts along that line. The volume under review is not one of these, but it could be very useful to teachers of courses devoted to that topic. For a sophisticated reader already familiar with the historical story this book can be both stimulating and illuminating. Your reviewer became aware that he got much more from the chapters on Europe and the Near East than he did from those on China, India, and Southeastern Asia, and he concluded that this was because he had such limited knowledge of the narrative history of the latter regions. It may be, however, that detailed information in European history, even for the "dark ages," is greater than for Asiatic countries and that this also makes for better understanding and more subtle insight.

In this connection also the reader may ask himself what is gained by the juxtaposition of chapters on civilizations which were contemporary but which had no significant interconnection with each other. Maybe in a Toynbeesque age there is philosophical enlightenment in becoming aware that Hindu civilization flourished when European civilization declined even though this seems to be a mere coincidence. Possibly it can be argued that there is cultural linkage between these remote and otherwise unconnected cultures in their somewhat common exposure to pressures from the central Asiatic nomads. It is indeed thought-provoking for the student of civilization to be reminded that the predatory Turks and Mongols

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"despite their intelligence, their mental balance, and their practical sense, remained in a pastoral state, while the sedentary population of towns and countryside, possessors of an advanced agricultural technique, seemed to be softened by the calm, regular life which their work demanded." There certainly is an enlarged understanding from seeing the spread of Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity as comparable and semicontemporary phenomena. In general the reader may be impressed by the fact that Western culture in the medieval period was not superior to other cultures and not always equal.

Perhaps it should be noted that the phases and features of cultural history, when described in general terms, take on an appearance of marked similarity in spite of differences of time and place. At this point the conservative historian shrinks back, for that way lies sociology, and this historian wants to know why these cultures were different, as he still insists they were, despite apparent basic similarities. The general theme might be described as a study of cultural equilibrium, which appears to require social self-confidence, which in turn is due to an expanding economy, stimulated by technological improvements, and adequate to support a growing population. For this the ability of society to avoid civil war, to resist conquest, and to maintain public order is necessary, conditions which are essentially political. For the most part the political narrative is taken for granted, but the development of governmental ideas and institutions and of the techniques of warfare get adequate attention. The neglect of events means an emphasis on economic influences and changes. The skill with which this is made the basis for explaining social and institutional changes, without overemphasis, is marked. Indeed one of the impressive features of this treatment is the sense of continuity which comes from reading the book through—one becomes aware of the constant interplay of different influences in cultural progress. This is particularly noticeable with respect to agricultural and business techniques, and in the field of architecture, which gets special attention. Considering that this is a collaborative work, this impression of continuity must indicate skillful editorial synthesis.

*Williamstown, Massachusetts* RICHARD A. NEWHALL

DAS STRANDRECHT IN NORDEUROPA IM MITTELALTER. By *Vilho Niitemaa.* [Annals of the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, Series B, Vol. XCIV.] (Helsinki: the Academy. 1955. Pp. 416. 1,400 mk.)

*Strandrecht* refers to that body of legal practices and principles relating to jurisdiction over coastal regions and the salvage of stranded goods. It applies to seashores and the marginal areas along those shores. This monograph undertakes to explain the origins of this type of law and define the earliest distinctions that appear within this legal area as set forth in the folklaws of northern Europe. The author then proceeds to show how this legislation develops through successive phases of a fairly well defined process of legal evolution across the Middle Ages to the sixteenth century.

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Niitemaa begins by stressing the basic general principles of early Nordic custom which held that all unclaimed and unidentified objects found on seashores belong to the finders. This includes not merely marine life and driftwood but wreckage and wrecked ships, not merely flotage and flotsam but also jetsam or goods jettisoned by ships at sea. This law of the shores must be distinguished carefully from the fishing laws of the open sea.

The main portion of the study deals with the development of *Strandrecht* into a system freed from the arbitrary restrictions of early custom. In this process the great impetus imparted by the vast expansion of marine transport accompanying the Crusades plays an important part. The medieval concept of the "peace" tends to alleviate the harsher features of the *Strandrecht* so that acts of pillage may not be concealed as legal salvage. Ecclesiastical influences exercise a liberalizing effect in behalf of clerics, pilgrims, women, and eventually merchants. Underlying these factors was the unconditional opposition of the Roman law to the custom of the strand. Finally the collision between the Hanseatic League and the northern nations during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries leads to the further liberalization of the *Strandrecht* along economic lines and its transformation into a more purely mercantile law under the leadership of the trading cities. The ultimate goal of these cities was the freedom of the shores as well as the freedom of the seas.

The work is based on much unpublished material from the city archives of Reval, Königsberg, Riga, and Lübeck as well as the Danish and Swedish royal archives. The secondary treatises are listed fully in the bibliography. This is a substantial piece of original research in an uncultivated field.

*Rice Institute* FLOYD SEYWARD LEAR

GESCHICHTE DER SÄCHSISCHEN KAISERZEIT (900–1024). By *Robert Holtzmann*. (Munich: Verlag Georg D. W. Callwey. Pp. 575. DM 19.50.)

THIS work, a reprint of the second edition, which appeared in 1943, will be of interest to the general historian, the history teacher, and the vanishing general reader of cultivated tastes and catholic intellectual interests. It constitutes the first comprehensive attempt since Giesebrecht's romantic *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit* to portray, on the basis of the primary sources and the vast secondary literature, the formation of the German monarchy in the tenth century and the origins of the First Reich. The author, who died in 1946, was one of the foremost specialists in this field of study. His efforts at synthesis are focused on developments which established, though for a few generations only, Germany, then the least civilized part of the Frankish inheritance, as the most powerful polity among the succession states of the Carolingian empire. Germany's short-lived pre-eminence in medieval Europe was associated with the revival of the imperial traditions by the monarchs of the Saxon house. Heretofore, the duchy of Saxony, situated west

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of the Elbe-Saale line, had been, both economically and culturally, the most backward region of Germany itself.

Professor Holtzmann's account is essentially a personalized chronicle of dynastic politics. Such a conventional treatment of a fascinating theme has its place. Especially in this instance, for the ephemeral political and administrative system which sustained Otto the Great and his immediate successors was founded, above all, on personal power, personal distinction, and the arts of royal nepotism. Unfortunately, the author is not always in command of his material. Since he does not discriminate enough between the essential and the insignificant, his lengthy tale tends to be a little dull and pointless.

The most concise and, also, the most rewarding parts deal with the social, economic, and cultural aspects of the Saxon period. The author throws light upon the evolution of the governing class and of administrative, ecclesiastical, military, and economic organization. No less suggestive, despite its brevity, is his discussion of the problems of land tenure, internal colonization, the eastern agricultural frontier, urban development, and other manifestations of economic growth. More original is the exceptionally well-informed appraisal of the impact of the monastic reform movement of that period. The regional response to this movement is traced in the different duchies—Saxony, Thuringia, Franconia, Bavaria, Swabia, and Lorraine—which then made up "Germany." Holtzmann draws a vivid picture of contemporary historiography and literature and of the work of the episcopal and monastic schools. Numerous pictorial illustrations adorn the book. These help greatly to bring into bold relief the remarkable accomplishments of this "dark" age in the realm of architecture and the decorative arts.

Holtzmann has devoted much energy and zeal to the old question as to whether the whole course of German history took "the wrong turn" with the adoption of an imperial policy a millennium ago. This has been an endlessly debated problem of historiography ever since the famous Ficker-Sybel controversy of 1859–1862, which was precipitated by Austria's defeat in Italy in 1859 and the ensuing struggle between Austria and Prussia over the political reconstruction of Germany. When the issue was reopened under the Nazi regime, Holtzmann stood his ground, as he does in the present book, as the proponent of a critical but old-fashioned and obsolete apologia of medieval *Kaiserpolitik* and its influence upon German history. He argues his case with emotional undercurrents which find expression primarily in nationalistic valuations and moralizing comments. Though he does not identify his professional companions and contenders, it is clear that his "pro-imperial" views are akin to those of Haller, Hampe, and Brackmann. In other words, he rejects the interpretations of that generation of "anti-imperial" medievalists which included such strange bedfellows as the Prussian Junker Georg von Below and the Austrian socialist Ludo Moritz Hartmann.

*Brooklyn College* HANS ROSENBERG

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DIE OSTGRENZE POLENS: POLITISCHE ENTWICKLUNG, KULTURELLE BEDEUTUNG UND GEISTIGE AUSWIRKUNG. Band I, IM MITTELALTER BIS ZUM JAHRE 1401. By *Gotthold Rhode*. [Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, No. 2.] (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 1955. Pp. xvi, 457. DM 38.)

Polish historians, especially of the twentieth century, have been concerned with establishing Poland's role as the defender of Western civilization. Following cautiously in their footsteps the author presents this volume as the first of a projected series of three. He intends ultimately (1) to write a history of the Polish boundary and its fluctuations, (2) to explain the significance of the boundaries and frontiers to the east in the eyes of contemporaries (with particular attention to the process of religious and cultural assimilation), and (3) to define the impact of eastward expansion and of the idea of the *antemurale Christianitatis* on the spiritual life and political ideology of Poland. The last the author will treat in Volume III. The volume under consideration gives a geographical description to 1401 (chapters I, III, V, VII) and an analysis of the significance of the frontier to 1385–1387 (chapters II, IV, VI).

The geographical description is a meticulous piece of work so far as I can judge. Part of the author's intent is not to attribute territory to Poland which he cannot substantiate by direct evidence or by logic and not to determine boundaries with an unwarranted degree of precision. Earlier historical cartographers have erred in the respects in which he has been careful.

The author describes a steady shift in the significance of the frontier. In the period to 1138 he discovers little awareness of a frontier; 1138–1340, only an incipient sense of mission, of the need of crusading, as a result of the influence of the papacy; and 1333–1340 to 1385–1387, a sense of mission in Casimir the Great and his close associates and an awareness of Poland as the rampart of Western Christendom.

The author has expressed himself clearly and organized his material very carefully. He has covered his subject within set limits. He has made minimal use or no use of the works of Kuczynski, Leontovich, and Liubavsky. Just as he is sometimes overly precise in fixing dates, similarly he comes to conclusions about minor issues, for which the available evidence is insufficient. I am convinced neither by the author's argument that Casimir the Great was a sincere advocate of a defensive and offensive policy in the East for the purpose of helping Western Christendom rather than Poland alone (pp. 246–53, 259), nor by the author's attribution to Casimir of a policy of intended assimilation in "Red Russia" (p. 270).

I doubt the basic premise (posed as a question) of this first volume: that the eastern boundary of Poland may be identified with the eastern frontier of the West. Moreover the author eschews any definition of the West.

The maps have been carefully drawn. The use of clear and meaningful symbols should serve as a model. One might object to the failure to show Serensk

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as half under Olgerd's control (map 5). The volume contains few typographical errors unless it be some slight errors in the genealogical tables. An extensive bibliography is rendered less useful by the author's failure to indicate the correct number of volumes in sets. The indexes of persons and places are commendable.

*University of Kansas* OSWALD P. BACKUS III

CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY AND SOCIAL THOUGHT: A HISTORICAL ESSAY ON THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF SOME SELECTED ASPECTS IN CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY TO A.D. 1500. By *Ray C. Petry,* Professor of Church History, Duke University. (Nashville: Abingdon Press. 1956. Pp. 415. $5.00.)

DR. Petry has undertaken this informing work in a spirit of inquiry rather than of dogmatism, and he has drawn without prejudice from a wide range of interpreters for aid in forming his evaluations. The book exhibits, too, an unusual weight of independent reading of source documents drawn from the fifteen centuries of Christian history before the Reformation era. It is primarily a historical study but shows a keen awareness of the new interest of theology in eschatology, a theological province which the theologians of the "social gospel" found embarrassing, and largely abandoned. Petry has felt the impact of the twentieth-century thinkers in whose work the positive social implications of eschatological belief are, not without surprise, noted and accepted. In the words of Canon Scott Holland, one of many quoted to the same effect in the opening chapter, "a pivot in the transcendent world beyond" is needed "to determine conduct here on earth." While atomic science occasions a dread materialistic eschatology, theologians of social concern are discussing the theme in a new light and attempting to incorporate in their systematic thinking a doctrine of the Last Things. Petry's viewpoint begins to come out clearly in the latter part of the second chapter, where he has been considering prominent elements of medieval eschatology. Christian eschatology he sees holding in focus an ultimate order of life to which the temporal order is subordinate. The latter is to be supplanted, but also meanwhile transformed, by the former and is "socially answerable to the eternal order of life." Cataclysmic and developmental aspects are interwoven. "There may be evolution and growth within cataclysm, and cataclysm within the realm of process." A revived appreciation of eschatology is a requisite for "the recovery of Christian vitality in an exhausted world."

Chapters III to VI treat by historic periods "The Response of the Temporal Society to the Eternal Kingdom"; VII to XII have as their general topic "The Ecclesiastical Community as Servant of the Eternal Kingdom in the Temporal World." A feature of the earlier of these series is the treatment of the conception Jesus held of the conditions of admission to the eternal kingdom. These involve not worthiness or merit but the invitation and gift of God; but there are high requirements to be met, and entrance is only on sincere repentance. In the later

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group we see ample illustration of the social character of the church as viewed historically and eschatologically by many writers from the church fathers to the close of the Middle Ages. Professor Petry shows everywhere a warm appreciation of the religious insights of medieval authors and of the eschatological framework of their social ideas. More narrowly eschatological are the two chapters given under the heading "Last Things, the Resurrection, the Last Judgment, and the End of History." In the longest chapter in the book we have a review of specific expectations of Heaven under the title "The Heavenly Beatitude and the Mutuality of the Eternal Kingdom." To summarize the ideas of his medieval writers on this point, our author makes use of passages from Dietrich Bonhoeffer's *Sanctorum Communio.*

A thoughtful concluding chapter, "Retrospect and Prospect," contains both appreciation and discerning criticism of the thought reviewed in the book. A brief quotation may be permitted—and may it not be too misleading because of its brevity: "It is obvious, first of all, that the Church's eschatological views did not result in social paralysis but rather tended to a conscious reinvigoration of social effort. What eventuated was a kind of social moralism that threatened, ultimately, the very principle of Christian *agape.*"

In an age when inhuman eschatologies are being inferred from scientific power, and when eschatologies of privilege largely emancipated from love and responsibility may be found in certain of our flourishing sects, hearty thanks should be offered to the author of this work of research and interpretation. While its value for religion is obvious, its usefulness to historians of social theory must also be rated high.

*East Middlebury, Vermont* JOHN T. MCNEILL

BYZANTINE STUDIES AND OTHER ESSAYS. By *Norman H. Baynes,* Fellow of the British Academy. (London: University of London, Athlone Press; New York: John de Graff. 1955. Pp. xi, 392. $7.00.)

STUDENTS of the ancient and medieval world owe a debt of gratitude to R. A. Humphreys and A. D. Momigliano of University College, London, for having prepared the republication of thirty-three lectures, articles, and reviews by Professor Norman H. Baynes, the outstanding authority on Roman and Byzantine studies. Professor Baynes is an admirable lecturer and original thinker, with a vast and profound erudition, but he has always been opposed to the writing of voluminous books and long-winded articles. His original ideas and important discoveries are conveyed to us principally through short studies written in an elegant, condensed, and precise style and through reviews of the works of other scholars. All who are familiar with his method of research and writing will agree that everything Professor Baynes has written—be it only a short review of a scholarly book—is well worth reading, for it contains, if not new ideas, at least a new approach to the problem under consideration.

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The first two studies reprinted here, "The Hellenistic Civilization and East Rome" and "The Thought-World of East Rome" (pp. 1–47), were greeted with great satisfaction by specialists when they were first published in 1945 and 1947, and, indeed, it would be difficult to find a clearer exposition of the Hellenistic background of Byzantine civilization and of the main features characterizing the vital traditions of Byzantium. These lectures are complemented here by a heretofore unpublished study of "The Byzantine State" (pp. 47–66) and by a paper on "Some Aspects of Byzantine Civilization" (pp. 67–82), published in 1930, and to these should be added what Professor Baynes wrote in 1933 on "Eusebius and the Christian Empire" (pp. 168–73). The reading of these studies affords an excellent introduction to the consideration of Byzantine political philosophy and the organization of the Byzantine state, as well as of the Roman background of Byzantine Christian Hellenism, and it explains why the political structure of Byzantium differed so greatly from that of western medieval Europe.

Byzantium survived and continued to flourish after the western part of the Roman Empire had collapsed principally because it was fortunate enough to have kept intact the reservoir of its economic forces and of its manpower in Asia Minor. This thesis is expounded by the author in his paper "The Decline of the Roman Power in Western Europe: Some Modern Explanations" (pp. 83–97). Most valuable is Baynes's account of the struggle between Constantinople and Alexandria for spiritual supremacy in the East ("Alexandria and Constantinople: A Study in Ecclesiastical Diplomacy," pp. 97–116).

Particular attention should be given to two studies on icon-worship in the early church. The hitherto unpublished study "Idolatry and the Early Church" (pp. 116–43) discusses interesting documents that reveal the hostility against pictorial representation in the churches before Constantine the Great, and shows that, even in this respect, the emperor had influenced the development of ecclesiastical tradition. In his "The Icons before Iconoclasm" (pp. 226–39), the author completes his research on the subject.

Specialists in classical history will find new ideas in this first publication of "Isocrates" (pp. 144–67), in which Baynes disagrees with certain views put forward by Wendland and Jaeger. In his "The Historia Augusta: Its Date and Purpose" (pp. 209–17) Baynes continues to defend his thesis that the work was written during the reign of the emperor Julian. His "Notes on the Reforms of Diocletian and Constantine," "Rome and Armenia in the Fourth Century" (pp. 173–209), and "The Death of Julian the Apostate in a Christian Legend" (pp. 271–81) appear here, as well as some other essays. The selection of Baynes's reviews of scholarly works is also rewarding. The reader will find among them original ideas on Valentinian, Lactantius, Stilicho, Julian the Apostate, Symmachus, and Athanasius, in addition to ideas on the imperial cults.

The essay on "The Political Ideal of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*" (pp. 288–306) gives a very clear account of Augustine's political theory, although the essayist modestly apologizes for having ventured into this field. And for those

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who wish to become better acquainted with the personal ideas of this scholarly "Victorian," as Baynes calls himself, there is his address to the students of University College delivered in 1942 and printed here under the title "The Custody of a Tradition" (pp. 371–88).

*Dumbarton Oaks* FRANCIS DVORNIK

## Modern European History

KING JAMES VI AND I. By *D. Harris Willson*. (New York: Henry Holt. 1956. Pp. 480. $6.00.)

SOMETIMES a new life of a historical personage is called for by the mass of fresh evidence that has become available to scholars, sometimes by the lapse of time since the last biography was written, and sometimes by a combination of the two. Professor Willson's biography can be justified mainly by the second reason, because T. F. Henderson's life appeared half a century ago. It is rather surprising that more new materials have not been discovered. All the calendar of the papers of Robert Cecil, first earl of Salisbury, is not yet published. The Venetian calendar now covers the full reign, and the privy council register, so far as it exists, is printed. The defects of the domestic calendar still render necessary an examination of the original papers. There are no French, Spanish, or Dutch calendars, but Dr. Willson gives occasional references to transcripts of French and Spanish state papers, though not, I think, to Dutch ones. This omission renders more serious the failure to use Sir George Clark's Ford lectures on Anglo-Dutch relations and, especially, the colonial conferences between England and the Netherlands in 1613 and 1615 (*Bibliotheca Visseriana,* XVII, 1951). This attempt to end the conflicts between the English and Dutch in the Far East is ignored, and their relations nearer home are dealt with too perfunctorily. Whether England and Spain were at war when James died is left undecided in the text, though the dust jacket declares they were. In view of the importance of finance two points should have received greater attention—Elizabeth's sale of crown lands which left James with a smaller revenue, and the rise of prices which reduced its real value. Sidney J. Madge (*The Domesday of Crown Lands*) suggests that James sold much more land than Dr. Willson allows.

The chapters devoted to James in Scotland and England are all good, some excellent. The accounts of baronial struggles north of the border and of factions south of it are enlivened by short, pithy sketches of the leaders. No one is likely to agree with all these brief descriptions, but most of them show insight into character and motive. Harsh sentences are pronounced upon Mary, Queen of Scots, and her son. The verdict that as a ruler she was "beneath contempt" may need some qualification, because she was successful during the years immediately after her return to Scotland. When she let her passions control her actions she may deserve the unkind treatment she receives here. The foreign policy James

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pursued in order not to hazard his chances of succeeding to the English throne is declared to be "tortuous, secretive, and dishonest." No doubt each adjective could be justified by examples, but the question remains whether he was worse than other rulers of his day. Another criticism, not made here, is that he need not have intrigued at all to secure the acquiescence of foreign powers, whether Protestant or Catholic, because his succession was assured whether they secretly agreed or not.

Probably wisely, Dr. Willson is content to set down the different versions of the Gowrie Plot without indicating which he favors. But it is asserted in a note that James may have retired with Ruthven for immoral purposes but that this is pure guesswork for which there is no proof (p. 452, n. 6). Surely guesses without evidence to support them should be excluded from a serious biography. Later in the text a similar charge is repeated and backed up, this time by a reference to Francis Osborne. The authority is of doubtful value, a remark equally applicable to Arthur Wilson and the writers whose secret histories Sir Walter Scott collected. They may prove that discreditable rumors about James were circulating, but not that the rumors were true. However, little space is devoted to scandal and in general this biography can be most heartily recommended both for its learning and for its literary qualities. The James that is depicted is like the traditional figure, but is better described in more detail than in earlier biographies. He is kept throughout in the foreground, but the background of contemporary history is worth careful study for its own sake even if the reader is not especially interested in James.

*Huntington Library* GODFREY DAVIES

CHARLES I AND THE PURITAN UPHEAVAL: A STUDY OF THE CAUSES OF THE GREAT MIGRATION. By *Allen French*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1955. Pp. 436. $8.00.)

ALLEN French, it is said, was "geographically and spiritually of the Boston-Concord-Cambridge area." The past, therefore, especially New England's past, was never dead and gone to him. Indeed his ability to recapture for his readers a sense of its reality is one of the best features of his writing. He began this book, which bears the subtitle "A Study of the Causes of the Great Migration," in the mid-thirties. He wrote it from a conviction that American historians had given too little attention to the English background of the early emigrants and that those of his generation were, without sufficient evidence, and too lightly, substituting an economic interpretation of the so-called "Puritan Migration" for the traditional religious one.

Others were also thinking along some of the same lines; and, in the intervening years, King Charles's England and the place of the ordinary man in its society on the eve of the American colonization have become much better known to us. One can, however, still read with profit and enjoyment Mr. French's

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early chapters on life in London and the countryside. Far less good are his chapters on economic matters. This is all the more lamentable since the materials are extant for explaining many of the problems of the East Anglian farmers and textile workers who are the groups best represented among the emigrants.

Also open to criticism are the chapters on King Charles's foreign wars, his parliaments, and the work of the courts. One can forgive Mr. French for not being a specialist in each of these areas. That is not to be expected; but it is less easy to excuse him for ignoring the work of specialists. Samuel Gardiner's name indeed stands high among nineteenth-century historians, and we owe a tremendous debt to him and to John Bruce for the sources which they edited. But to rest one's study so wholly on the writing and editing of these two men is to ignore almost a century of fruitful work in political and parliamentary history.

The chapter on Puritan thought rings true. The author has worked his way through scores of Puritan writings. He feels and is able to transmit their force and vitality while at the same time preserving proper perspective. But his treatment of the influence of Puritanism on the emigrants and upon their decision to forsake their homes for the New World leaves us still unsatisfied. It is not that he has failed to show that the East Anglian movement was closely linked with Puritan activities. He amply demonstrates the role of the Puritan clerics who were its leaders, and we are grateful for what he has added to our knowledge of them. But we are still left pretty much in ignorance of the impact of both religious and economic forces on the lesser laymen of East Anglia. They were not very articulate. We shall probably never have their story in full. But it was they and their families who filled the emigrant ships.

*Vassar College* MILDRED CAMPBELL

WEST-INDIA POLICY UNDER THE RESTORATION. By *A. P. Thornton,* Lecturer in British Imperial History in the University of Aberdeen. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. vi, 280. $5.60.)

THIS volume supplements the panoramic view George Louis Beer provided in *The Old Colonial System.* It gives us a microscopic examination of documentary sources concerning Anglo-Spanish relations regarding Jamaica and the administration and defense of the West Indies. Better still it helps us see living men facing Restoration problems.

In the Caribbean the Spanish, French, Dutch, and English eyed one another warily, never knowing when friend would be foe or foe, friend. The Spanish believed all Englishmen intruders to be driven out "in God's good time." The English saw the Spanish as potential customers and misers "ripe for pillage."

The English governor represented a sovereign who sought economic subordination and political obedience from a people who wanted free trade, control of their own taxes, the law of England, and no standing army. He had to maintain his own friends in Whitehall and steel himself to "offhand treatment by official-

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dom," to being told what not to do, not what to do. He had to decide at his peril which island faction to support; when to resist and when to yield to the colonial assembly; when the buccaneers were patriotic privateers and when they were pirates to be hanged or driven to the logwood coast.

In London the politicians gradually took over the imperial authority, reducing the merchants "to a position of comfortable subordination" and Charles II himself finally emerged predominant as the politicians knifed each other. Whitehall had much to learn about administrative processes and American realities. The king and his officials made many mistakes; their activities were often ignoble. But, as Thornton says, "a forward policy, assured and independent" was a luxury England could not afford. She depended more on her opponents' weaknesses than her own strength. She suffered from the plague, the fire, the Dutch fleet in the Medway, national bankruptcy, and national hysteria in the guise of the "Popish Plot." Yet she survived; her colonies developed. Jamaica, for example, in 1660 had "little security, less law"; a quarter-century later it was safely settled and adequately governed.

The reader may disagree on some points of detail or interpretation. Too many long sentences, too few short paragraphs make reading difficult and bury many a choice phrase. Nevertheless, Thornton throws valuable light on an era, an area, and a process. He tells not only of mercantilism at work but also of men rising above adversity.

*University of California, Berkeley* LAWRENCE A. HARPER

ENGLAND IN THE REIGNS OF JAMES II AND WILLIAM III. By *David Ogg*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 567. $8.00.)

MR. Ogg carries forward in this book his study of England in the late seventeenth century which he began with his two-volume *History of England in the Reign of Charles II,* published in 1934 and since revised. "The three volumes," he tells us, "are intended to provide a continuous account of English history and institutions in the period 1660–1702." The present work is to a high degree, however, a self-contained whole.

English history, as Mr. Ogg interprets it, is the narrative of English politics, domestic and foreign, to which is added the discussion of changes in religious, economic, and social thought. The treatment of institutions deals with government, the church, and the economic structure. Educational institutions are perhaps the most notable omission. To compensate for this there is an excellent—and, in the circumstances, unusual—chapter entitled "Freehold and Status" which describes late seventeenth-century meanings of such words as freedom, liberty, and property, and of such relationships as master and servant, husband and wife, and—among one or two professional groupings—stockbroker, scrivener, and banker.

The book consists of three approximately equal parts: an introduction dealing

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with the material and social setting, the historical narrative, and the analysis of economic and governmental institutions and of the principal currents of thought which affected public life. The items in the last two parts are effectively interwoven, and lead to a final chapter, "The Dawn of the Eighteenth Century." Throughout there is abundant evidence that Mr. Ogg has mastered the literature of his subject, and has, in particular, a wide knowledge of the pamphlets.

In this, as in the earlier work, Mr. Ogg is a shrewd, dispassionate observer of the political scene. Others have told the intricate story of the events immediately preceding the Revolution of 1688 and those following it, but no one, I think, has put together in a simple, lucid narrative so much detail and so balanced a judgment of the weakness and strength of the principal actors. The Revolution does not stir him to praise or denunciation; he deals with men as they were and, in consequence, produces a story which keeps down to earth and is human and compassionate in its explanation of motive.

It is the story of a people quickly moving to a new stage of political maturity; of a people who, having maneuvered their way with diffidence—almost with apathy, as Mr. Ogg sees it—through revolution, soon found their bearings and adapted themselves to a new role in world affairs. "Parliament," he says, as he brings part of his story to a close, "now became permanent and national, directing the state through its first European war and committing it to another in which the foundations of world supremacy were to be laid." He draws on pamphlets and newspapers to describe the sudden development of interest in public affairs and social conduct, and he uses the early career of Daniel Defoe to show the greatest of contemporary journalists at work among the new reading public.

This is a lively and engaging book whose qualities derive partly from the author's fresh approach to a fast moving period of English history and partly from his skill as a writer. The style is graceful and conveys the qualities of a mind that is exact and judicious, and of a mind lightened by humor. Thus, "nor did the business conducted in council during the late summer of 1688 give any hint of the crisis through which the dynasty was passing; for the Trial of the Seven Bishops was ended with the issue of a proclamation against profaneness and debauchery, a proof that in high places things were considered normal."

*Cornell University* FREDERICK GEORGE MARCHAM

THE DIARY OF JOHN EVELYN. In six volumes. Volume I, INTRODUCTION AND *DE VITA PROPRIA;* Volumes II–V, KALENDARIUM, 1620–1649; Volume VI, ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS, INDEX. Now first printed in full from the manuscripts belonging to Mr. John Evelyn and edited by *E. S. de Beer.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 171; 579; 639; 654; 622; 630. $50.40.)

THE seventeenth century was an age of diary-keeping. Puritans were admonished to keep diaries and to set down their spiritual experiences as a religious

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exercise. Others kept diaries from a variety of motives. Second only to the diary of Samuel Pepys in interest and historical importance is the record kept by John Evelyn throughout his adult life.

John Evelyn, who was born in Surrey in 1620, lived through some of the most momentous events in modern English history and recorded his reactions to life around him from early manhood until a month before his death in February, 1706. Unlike Pepys he did not keep his diary in shorthand. Indeed, the surviving documents, commonly called his diary, are in part copies from original notes that Evelyn kept in the blank pages of almanacs and later copied, edited, altered, and expanded. From internal evidence and allusions to events long after the date of the entry, it is possible to prove that Evelyn worked over much of the material in the earlier portions of the diary. Some of the entries, however, survive as they were written down at the time, and the whole is an extraordinary record of social history as seen through the eyes of a pious Anglican and royalist, a country gentleman, and a man of letters. Pepys and Evelyn knew and respected each other, but never were two men more unlike in personality and attitude toward life. Their two diaries, covering parts of the same era, complement each other in an extraordinary fashion.

Evelyn's diary, or what passed for it, was first published by William Bray in 1818. Bray himself published two further editions, in 1819 and 1827, and, as the present editor points out, "all later general editions and reprints of the Diary, apart from a few passages in some of them, reproduce the text contained in the second or third edition." It has long been known that Bray's text was incomplete and inadequate but not until the present edition has the historian known precisely how inadequate was Bray's work. This pioneer editor, however, deserves credit for rescuing the Evelyn papers from oblivion and possible destruction. How near posterity came to losing the documents was reported by one of Bray's collaborators, William Upcott, who himself took credit for rescuing the papers. In 1813, Upcott and Bray were visiting descendants of John Evelyn at Wotton, near Dorking. In the course of an evening's conversation, Lady Evelyn pulled out of a drawer some old papers, a part of which had already been used for dress patterns. Other papers in the batch had been sent to the kitchen for use as waste paper (I, 53). Upcott and Bray persuaded the family to save John Evelyn's letters and journals, and ultimately Bray gained permission to publish a selection. This selection became the basis of the subsequent versions of the diary. The quality of Bray's editing was incredibly bad. Determined to make the diary easy to read and intelligible, he changed Evelyn's words and phraseology when it suited him. He omitted everything that he thought displeasing to the family, too intimate, or inappropriate for any reason. He rewrote passages to make them more "literary" and elegant. His alterations frequently changed Evelyn's meaning entirely. But this was too often the practice of editors in the nineteenth century, and many examples might be cited to show that Bray was no worse than many a contemporary of greater editorial experience, some of whom did not hesitate to take por-

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tions of several letters and put them together when printing the correspondence of literary and historical figures.

But at last we have available a definitive edition of Evelyn's diary, superbly edited by Mr. E. S. de Beer from the family archives, and printed in a readable, attractive, and convenient format by the Clarendon Press. For more than twenty-five years Mr. de Beer has worked on this six-volume edition, which will remain a monument of erudition. The annotation is detailed, and the index, which occupies most of Volume VI, makes accessible by name and subject all the vast complex of observations that Evelyn made in the eighty-six years of his life. Volume I provides a biography of Evelyn, a description of the diary and of the manuscripts upon which it is based, an analysis of previous editions, an essay on the credibility and historical value of the documents, a list of Evelyn's writings, and the text of Evelyn's *De vita propria,* which contains autobiographical material repeated in somewhat different form in the *Kalendarium,* as Evelyn entitled the main portion of his diary. The *Kalendarium* occupies Volumes II–V. The editor has wisely put his textual and explanatory notes at the foot of the page where the reader can use them most easily. In Volume VI, in addition to the index, he has placed a few further explanations and corrections that came to light in the printing. In a work of scholarship, the reader could hardly ask for more than Mr. de Beer has provided in this excellent edition.

*Folger Library* LOUIS B. WRIGHT

THE LETTERS OF EDWARD GIBBON. Volume I, 1750–1773, LETTERS 1–236; Volume II, 1774–1784, LETTERS, 237–618; Volume III, 1784–1794, LETTERS 619–878. Edited by *J. E. Norton.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1956. Pp. xxix, 407; xiv, 423; xiii, 464. $30.00.)

A LONG history lies behind this carefully prepared and beautifully printed edition of the letters of Edward Gibbon. Two years after the historian's death, his friend Lord Sheffield published about three hundred letters, or parts of letters, in his edition of Gibbon's *Miscellaneous Works* (2 vols., 1796), and others were added in the second edition (5 vols., 1814). Almost a third of these letters were written to Gibbon rather than by him. The next important step came in 1894, when Lord Sheffield's grandson transferred all the Gibbon papers in his possession to the British Museum. Mr. R. E. Prothero then published his *Private Letters of Edward Gibbon (1753–1794)* (2 vols., 1896), which included 647 letters, most of them written by Gibbon to his stepmother, Mrs. Dorothea Gibbon, or to Lord Sheffield. About the same time, Meredith Read and others published many letters written by Gibbon to friends in Switzerland, and other letters have since been published elsewhere. Miss Norton now republishes the entire set, along with several hitherto unpublished, in a collection of 878 letters. She modestly remarks that still other letters may turn up, but her search has been so diligent and so thorough that further major finds seem unlikely.

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The value of the present edition lies less in the letters themselves than in Miss Norton's brilliant editorial work. She has carefully examined the original manuscripts, except in the few cases where they have been lost or destroyed, and she has contributed hundreds of extremely helpful notes identifying persons or explaining references. Her three indexes will win the gratitude of all who use the book. In addition to a general index and one of names, with biographical information about each person mentioned and a brief summary of his relations with Gibbon, there is an elaborate index to what the letters have to tell us about Gibbon's life and personality. This edition of the letters is the most valuable addition made to Gibbon studies since Bury's monumental edition of the *Decline and Fall.*

Miss Norton first made her reputation as a Gibbon specialist a few years ago with her *Gibbon Bibliography* (1940), in which she learnedly traced the mechanical preparation and publication of Gibbon's various books. She there showed herself to be a first-rate bibliographer, and the same quality is shown in the brevity and factuality of her notes to the letters. But it would be a pity if her enormous knowledge of Gibbon and his times remained buried in footnotes. In recent years she and other scholars have assembled a vast amount of new information about the great historian. These new studies began when D. M. Low edited *Gibbon's Journal to January 28th, 1763* (1929). Georges Bonnard of Lausanne followed with *Le Journal de Gibbon à Lausanne, 17 août 1763–19 avril 1764* (1945), and "Le séjour de Gibbon à Paris du 28 janvier au 9 mai 1763" (in *Miscellanea Gibboniana,* 1952), and he is said to be preparing an edition of Gibbon's journal during his Italian trip of 1764–1765. Unfortunately no one since Birkbeck Hill has attempted a critical edition of the *Memoirs* (1900), but Geoffrey Keynes has published a valuable study, *The Library of Edward Gibbon: A Catalogue of His Books* (1940), and Giuseppe Giarrizzo (a pupil of Croce) has examined Gibbon's place in the development of European historiography in his *Edward Gibbon e la cultura europea del settecento* (1954). A number of popular biographies of Gibbon have appeared in recent years, though none can compare in interest with Lord Sheffield's edition of Gibbon's own *Memoirs.* A full-dress scholar's biography of Gibbon is now urgently needed, and Miss Norton has shown herself to be the person to write it.

*University of Illinois* J. W. Swain

UNREPENTANT TORY: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ANDREW BONAR LAW, 1858–1923, PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. By *Robert Blake.* (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1956. Pp. 556. $9.00.)

Robert Blake's admirable life of Bonar Law fills the gap which has so long remained in our shelf of biographies of the leaders in British politics during the First World War. No important figure of that generation is now uncommemorated, though it is becoming clear that two at least, Asquith and Curzon, are in

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need of a fresh and unblinking scrutiny. Mr. Blake as a biographer has many virtues: a taste for political history and a thorough knowledge of it, a clear and unobtrusive style, a gift for narrative, a liking for his subject which warms but never blinds him. And he has made full use of documentary material, hitherto untouched, and quotes liberally from it, particularly from the Bonar Law papers in Lord Beaverbrook's possession, and the Royal Archives at Windsor.

Yet it is other qualities which bring distinction to the book. It is fair and frank (e.g., on party funds and the award of honors, pp. 100, 255, 499, and in the whole treatment of the Ulster crisis). It does not shrink, when it is necessary, from judgment. Only once, I think, does Mr. Blake fail to convince: in his account of Bonar Law's candidacy for the leadership of the Conservative party in 1911. For it is clear, from his own evidence, that Bonar Law's candidacy created the deadlock between Austen Chamberlain and Walter Long out of which its success came; and the reason for such persistence can only have been Law's ambition, and Lord Beaverbrook's.

From Mr. Blake's hands Bonar Law emerges as a much more important figure than is usually recognized. His influence in the Ulster crisis was powerful and, surprisingly, more moderate than that of many of his colleagues. As leader of the Opposition in 1914–1915 his policy was one of restraint (in the face of Lord Fisher's extraordinary epistolary indiscretions). When the time came, he took the lead in inducing Asquith to form the coalition government. He forced the decision to evacuate Gallipoli. His part in the fall of Asquith was crucial, particularly when he stood by Lloyd George after the latter's resignation, in contrast with the apparent deceitfulness of Curzon and the wavering of some other Conservatives (Mr. Blake's lucid account could hardly be bettered). In 1918 his decision made possible the postwar coalition, just as his speech at the Carlton Club meeting ended it. On these occasions he showed his stature: while serving the nation's interest he also preserved his party's unity. The most interesting fact in British politics today is the survival of the Conservative party; this the Conservatives owe to many forces, many leaders, but not least, as Mr. Blake has so convincingly shown us, to Bonar Law.

*University of Chicago* C. L. Mowat

UNE FAMILLE DE MARCHANDS, LES RUIZ: CONTRIBUTION A L'ETUDE DU COMMERCE ENTRE LA FRANCE ET L'ESPAGNE AU TEMPS DE PHILIPPE II. By *Henri Lapeyre*. [Ecole pratique des hautes études, VI[e] section. Centre de recherches historiques. Affaires et gens d'affaires, no. 8.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1955. Pp. 671.)

This important and well-documented history of a company of international bankers contributes much to the understanding of the differences in the economic development of France and Spain and the other Catholic countries, Italy and Austria. There is impressive evidence that the weaknesses of the second gen-

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eration in the Ruiz family both in Spain and in France were not an isolated phenomenon. When the attitudes of the second generation are considered in relation to the problems of usury and interest, it becomes evident that the development of capitalistic enterprise in France and Spain was obstructed as seriously by social considerations as by ecclesiastical prohibitions. This careful history of the Ruiz families in Spain and in France is, therefore, of great importance. Throughout the sixteenth century, the Italians dominated international banking and finance in France. The facts have long been known, but the Weber-Sombart theses have closed our eyes to their significance. The record of the Ruiz families is, therefore, an illuminating contribution to the understanding of the history of capitalistic enterprise in the sixteenth century.

The core of new documentation is the collection of letters and accounts in the Ruiz Hospital at Medina del Campo. These records cover much correspondence with the family in Nantes, and some supplementary material is available in France, notably in departmental and communal archives. The techniques of foreign exchange and of accounting are presented in general terms from the contemporary treatises, with full commentary upon any special features in the practice of the Ruiz firms, whether in exchange dealings or in accounting. The theological and ethical problems of exchange are, therefore, covered in great detail. The solutions were formal. Interest was not separately computed. It was included in the rate of exchange. To draw bills without providing coverage was regarded by the theologians as a patent usury, but it was not easy to prove deliberate intent to arrange no cover for bills. So there was a substantial flow of funds in re-exchange.

The activities of the Ruiz families involved much active trade between Brittany and Spain. Linen and grain were exported from Brittany. Wool was exported from Spain. There were, also, many minor lines of trade. Despite a great increase in lending to the crown, the Ruiz business was never exclusively a banking business. Within the period of the archives of the hospital at Medina del Campo, the fairs at Medina and Lyons were still clearing a substantial trade in goods. These trades are described in detail.

Despite the richness of the Ruiz archives, they add little to our knowledge of sixteenth-century business practice and procedure, because there were few changes at that time. The records cover the critical period in which the concept of negotiability was emerging in several jurisdictions, but they come to a close before the concept was securely established anywhere. The Ruiz records, therefore, establish an important date line. They show that in major financial centers like Lyons and Medina del Campo the new practices had not gained any foothold. The history of the family, however, adds immeasurably to our understanding of the sixteenth century. It is an essential supplement to Ehrenberg's great work on the age of the Fuggers.

*Harvard University* ABBOTT PAYSON USHER

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SÉVILLE ET L'ATLANTIQUE (1504–1650). Première partie, PARTIE STATISTIQUE. Tome I, INTRODUCTION MÉTHODOLOGIQUE; Tome II, LE TRAFIC DE 1504 A 1560; Tome III, LE TRAFIC DE 1561 A 1595. By *Huguette* and *Pierre Chaunu*. [Ecole pratique des hautes ètudes, VI[e] section. Centre de recherches historiques. Ports, Routes, Trafics, Volume VI.] (Paris: Armand Colin. 1955. Pp. xv, 332; 603; 571.)

One of the many pitfalls in the way of the economic historian is the temptation to rest content with a history of economic policy. The temptation is particularly strong in dealing with an institution like the Spanish Empire, whose government attempted a meticulous regulation of all economic activity, embodied its policies in a formidable mass of legislation, and enforced that legislation through a powerful and highly organized bureaucracy. The historian's attention is constantly drawn to the organization, the system; the facts of the trade or industry, which the system existed to regulate, may escape him.

The trade between Spain and Spanish America, throughout the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth, both in value and volume of goods carried, was by far the biggest trans-Oceanic trade in the Western world. It was confined, at the Spanish end, to Seville and its satellite ports on the Guadalquivir, and was a monopoly in the hands of a corporation of Seville merchant houses, the Consulado. The crown, in establishing these restrictions, was moved by considerations political, religious, and strategic, as well as fiscal and economic. Regulation was entrusted to a powerful official organization, the Casa de la Contratación, and protection provided by an elaborate system of convoys. The system is fairly well known, through a number of notable books, particularly the seventeenth-century *Norte de la Contratación* of Veitia Linaje, and the modern works of Haring and Artiñano; but these administrative studies do not answer—or indeed ask—many of the questions which perplex the economic historian: how many ships, and of what tonnage? where built? by whom owned and by whom commanded? what cargoes? by whom shipped, at what prices and at what rates of duty? what were the profits, and who got them? To qualitative description, then, the economic historian must add quantitative analysis.

To make possible a quantitative assessment of trans-Atlantic shipping year by year, M. and Mme. Chaunu propose to tabulate every voyage between Spain and the Indies for the century and a half of their study. There are to be eight volumes: an introductory volume on sources and methods, five volumes of tables, one of charts and graphs, and one of summary and interpretation. Quantitative analysis on this scale has been undertaken fairly frequently in the history of prices, notably by E. J. Hamilton in studying Spanish prices during roughly the period covered by the present book. In the history of sea-borne trade it has been more rarely attempted. The classic example, with which the present book invites comparison, is Nina Ellinger Bang's great work on the Sound Tolls. The material used by the Chaunus, like the Sound Toll Registers, is voluminous, complicated, intractable, but remarkably continuous over a long period. Every ship sailing between Seville

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and the Indies was required to register with the Casa for each voyage, out and back. Each *registro* formed a substantial volume, containing a detailed account of ship, company, and cargo. Some *registros* have disappeared; many were deliberately mislaid or mutilated for fraudulent purposes; but many have survived, in whole or in part. For convenience of reference, a catalogue of *registros* was kept in the Casa—a series of bound volumes which, miraculously, have survived intact. These *Libros de Registros* have been used by other scholars—by Haring, for example—but have never before been so thoroughly and critically analyzed. They supply the thread of continuity, the reference base of our authors' statistical construction. With the *Libros* as their guide, the authors have summarized the contents of some 580 bundles of *registros* and collated them with the corresponding (and chaotic) series of customs records (the *Avería*) and with the general correspondence of the Casa. From this great mass of papers, they have compiled, in the volumes at present under review, systematic and remarkably complete tables of the recorded movements of shipping between Seville and the Indies from 1504 to 1595.

Movements of shipping, not movements of goods. The officials of the Casa throughout its history were allied by many ties—friendship, marriage, *compadrazgo,* community of interests, more or less clandestine financial deals—with the great merchant houses of the Consulado. Their duty was to regulate trade; the actual collection of customs was separately farmed. Accordingly, the registration of shipping was rigorously enforced, because it was a means of maintaining the Seville monopoly. The registration of merchandise, on the other hand, being the basis for the assessment of duties, was systematically arranged to conceal the nature and value of the goods. The over-all quantity of goods could not, of course, be readily concealed; but containers were merely counted; formal statements of their contents were accepted, and the Casa regularly and successfully opposed requests of the *almojarifes* to be allowed to open them for inspection. The basis of assessment was thus arbitrary, formal, largely fictitious. Because of this "psychosis of fraud," as the authors call it, the nature of shipments to the Indies can be ascertained only in the roughest quantitative fashion. The authors do not even hazard estimates.

This, of course, is an inherent defect of the sources, and implies no criticism of the manner in which the sources have been used. Within the limits which they set for themselves, the authors have undertaken a task demanding perspicuity, immense industry, and technical competence of a high order. They have accomplished this task, in the volumes so far published, with conspicuous success. The lists and tables which they have compiled form an outstanding contribution not only to the history of the Spanish Empire but to the study of economic history in general; and every future historian of Atlantic shipping will have reason to be grateful.

*University College of the West Indies* JOHN H. PARRY

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THE FRENCH REVOLUTION SEEN FROM THE RIGHT: SOCIAL THEORIES IN MOTION, 1789–1799. By *Paul H. Beik*, Associate Professor of History, Swarthmore College. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume XLVI, Part 1.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1956. Pp. 122. $2.00.)

THIS study, which deals exclusively with the Right, is the first product of Professor Beik's projected examination of the conflicting social theories of the French Revolution. By his definition the Right refers to those men who were willing to incorporate the Estates General regularly into the political life of France but who refused to press reform beyond that point. Obviously all the spokesmen of this "Right" could not be studied; the author has limited his task to the analysis of twenty-one cases which he has selected with rare discrimination. Through these twenty-one spokesmen we are given an intimate glimpse into the social philosophy of the Right as it evolved during the decade after 1789. For most cases the starting point is political opinion, followed by a search for, and examination of, beliefs about social classes, history, religion, social science, and "whatever else the observer found necessary to an explanation of his times" (p. 4).

Starting with the dualism of French conservatism in 1789, on one hand the "absolutists" who sought to strengthen the edifice of absolutism by immobilizing the various corporate groups which helped to paralyze the royal administration and on the other hand the "aristocrats" who tried to limit royal power for their own interest, the author, after studying the twenty-one cases, reaches in his last chapter, "Social Theories in Motion," challenging and thoughtful conclusions. By 1799 he finds the revival of absolutism and conversely, if we remember the dualism involved, the decline of "the aristocratic limiting" which had so strongly endorsed the calling of the Estates General in 1789. As students of the Revolution might guess, he marks August, 1792, as the watershed of the Right's willingness, in political theory, to have the people on its side. As the Revolution grew older the Right relied increasingly upon the nobility as an intermediary power between king and people; religion more often became a premise for political viewpoint and a guarantee of justice and social order; traditionalism increased; and finally there was greater subordination of the individual "to the corporate parts and to the whole" (p. 107). As a result of Professor Beik's careful and penetrating analysis, we gain new insights into why French conservatism, which in 1789 was in part liberal, became rather solidly reactionary a decade later, losing touch with "the socially and politically possible" (p. 110).

This is an admirable piece of scholarship and original thought which will help all students of the Revolution and of France since 1789 to understand the thought and action of the Right. It is to be hoped that the author will continue his study of social theories in action until he has given us an equally profound analysis of the Moderates and the Left.

*Northwestern University* RICHARD M. BRACE

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ASPECTS DE LA CRISE ET DE LA DEPRESSION DE L'ECONOMIE FRANÇAISE AU MILIEU DU XIX^e SIÈCLE, 1846–1851. Etudes sous la direction de *E. Labrousse*. [Bibliothèque de la Révolution de 1848, tome XIX.] (La Roche-sur-Yon: Imprimerie Centrale de l'Ouest. 1956. Pp. xxiv, 356. 700 fr.)

PROFESSOR Labrousse has argued cogently that the study of the French economic crisis of the mid-nineteenth century calls for a collective effort. The latest volume of the "Etudes" of the Société de la Révolution de 1848 offers a valuable collective effort under his direction: twelve local monographic essays by sixteen younger historians and geographers and an introductory, unifying essay by Professor Labrousse himself. The essays themselves are individual works, except for the interesting joint study of the industrial crisis in the Nord by five scholars associated with the promising new Centre d'études historiques régionales of the faculty of letters of the University of Lille.

Each essay considers a *département* or city or region in the provinces, with the exception of one chapter on the 1847 crisis as seen by the "milieux d'affaires" of Paris. The authors are concerned chiefly to find out how each phase of the crisis (or each of the separate crises) of 1846–1851 arose, how it came to an end, and the incidences on various social groups and on agriculture, trade, and industry in rural and urban areas. Some explore more than others the relationship of political and psychological factors to the purely economic factors. There are heroic efforts to marshal quantitative data from the municipal, departmental, and national archives, the chamber of commerce records, the registers of bankruptcies, and the press. Agricultural and bread prices naturally furnish the most solid time series. The wage data and figures on employment and unemployment are sketchier, as are the ingenious attempts to utilize *octroi* figures on lumber arrivals to deduce changes in construction and general economic activity. But in this realm, "guesstimates" are welcome.

All the essays offer more detailed factual information than confident explanation. As Professor Labrousse remarks (p. iv), "a veritable study of causality . . . would require a much vaster chronological and geographic framework." Among the merits of the book is its wealth of suggestions for further research.

Comparative history may be coming back into its own, if it will be sober and touched with humility as well as imaginative and venturesome. Perhaps as useful as international comparisons are the comparisons of regions, industries, and social and occupational groups within a single nation. For such study no country is richer and more rewarding than France. The authors of this volume have given us significant materials and insights for such comparative history, and for the general analyses of economic crises and the preludes to revolution and reaction, as well as for the specific study of 1848 and the *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851.

*University of Chicago* VAL R. LORWIN

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HISTOIRE POLITIQUE DE LA TROISIÈME RÉPUBLIQUE. Volume I, L'AVANT-GUERRE (1906–1914). By *Georges Bonnefous*. Preface by André Siegfried. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1956. Pp. xvi, 434. 1,500 fr.)

AMONG the standard reference works on modern French history, *L'Année politique* has long held an eminent place. It appeared regularly from 1874 to 1905 and was resurrected in 1945. M. Bonnefous, shortly before his death in 1946, undertook to fill the long gap in the series by producing four volumes which will summarize, in chronological fashion, the political events of the period 1906–1940. Few men would have been better qualified to assume that task, for M. Bonnefous was himself a deputy from 1910 to 1936 and was several times a cabinet minister. But he possessed an even more remarkable qualification: under the pseudonym André Daniel, he was compiler and author of the old *Année politique* for several years prior to 1905. It is rare indeed that a historian finds time and energy to return to an interrupted task a full four decades after abandoning it.

Within the limits that M. Bonnefous has set for himself, he has done an excellent job. He has summarized the activities of parliament, nothing more nor less; and in doing so, he has sought to preserve the most rigid objectivity. No one can fairly quarrel with him for having chosen to summarize the facts rather than to interpret them. Still, the value of such a chronology published fifty years after the event may be open to some question. The book ought to be useful, but somehow it is difficult to see just who will find it so. Reviewers must always be wary of scolding an author for having failed to write a different book; yet in this case one cannot help regretting that M. Bonnefous did not do so. After all, few Frenchmen possessed his remarkably intimate knowledge of politics in the Third Republic, or could recall many years of daily association with Jaurès, Clemenceau, Poincaré, and most of the prominent men of a whole historical epoch. A scholarly insider's account of French parliamentary life—of the pressures that are brought to bear on deputies, of the mechanics of party organization, of the way in which parliament really arrives at decisions—would have been invaluable to future historians of the Third Republic. Occasionally M. Bonnefous does give the reader a brief glimpse of life among the politicians; and when he does (as in his account of the Rochette scandal), the book suddenly rises above mere chronology. One can only hope that, in his later volumes, M. Bonnefous will be more sparing of the carbolic acid and the rubber gloves of the antiseptic school of historians.

*University of Oregon* GORDON WRIGHT

TRE PROFILI: BENEDETTO XIV, PASQUALE STANISLAO MANCINI, PIETRO ROSELLI. By *Emilia Morelli*. [Quaderni del Risorgimento, 9.] (Rome: Ateneo. 1955. Pp. 162. L. 1300.)

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EMILIA Morelli, editorial secretary of the *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento,* has achieved a fair degree of success in her difficult attempt to appraise the role of character, habit, and temperament in the careers of three able men who might have been great but somehow failed to be more than important. Though there is no preface to tell us so, the subjects of these essays have two things in common, and these characteristics may hold the answer to the author's unsolved dilemma; they were all prodigiously hard workers who might well have lived only to contradict *dolce far niente* as an Italian attitude, and they were all, in their way, "moderates."

Benedict XIV was best known in his time as a wit, a patron of archaeological studies and as a master of canonical subtleties. Later students of the papacy give him full credit for these qualities but have tended to deal harshly with him as the man who failed to deal firmly enough with threats to religion and papal prerogatives on the part of kings, Jansenists, and Jesuits. Miss Morelli concludes, in her search for the mainsprings of his action, that Benedict might have done more harm to the church if he had been less "liberal," that he was at least honest, and that he cannot be fairly blamed for not seeing the great crises that came after his death.

Pasquale Stanislao Mancini was a moderate of the next century. A brilliant poet, journalist, and lawyer, his private practice won him the sobriquet of "Bellini of the Bar," and his writings, particularly after his exile in Piedmont, are supposed to have "raised nationality from the level of sentiment to that of scientific dignity" (p. 88). His weighty tomes on the law of nations never won Mancini the public acclaim enjoyed by his fellow moderates Gioberti, Balbo, and D'Azeglio, but his importance as inventor and annotator of the ideas they used is fully worthy of Miss Morelli's new efforts. It is notable, however, that although she lays emphasis upon Mancini's anguished development from Neapolitan to Piedmontese and from Piedmontese to Italian, the author has nothing to say of his abandonment of moderation to become the imperialist who acquired Assab in 1869 with the declaration that "the keys to the Mediterranean are in the Red Sea" and, later on, the radical nationalist who fervently defended the triple alliance against bitter parliamentary opposition.

The rather obscure fame of Pietro Roselli depends upon the fact that it was he and not Garibaldi who was placed in supreme command of the forces defending the Roman Republic in 1849. Mazzini felt that it was most important to have this respectable moderate in the European limelight rather than the red republican, but his decision meant that the courageous master of guerrilla warfare would be under the orders of a papal professional who despised irregulars and was far more familiar with the theory of war than its practice. Garibaldi may have made more than his share of wild mistakes in June of 1849, but it was almost certainly the incapacity of Roselli that lost the Janiculum and with it the Roman Republic. Interesting though it is for its ironic upshot and for the evidence that Roselli felt his guilt, this brief search for the psychological roots of Roselli's incompetence

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fails to reveal the qualities in him that caused Mazzini both to like him and to trust his professional ability.

*Northwestern University* GEORGE T. ROMANI

DER RUNDFUNK ALS INSTRUMENT DER POLITIK: ZUR GESCHICHTE DES DEUTSCHEN RUNDFUNKS VON 1923/38. By *Heinz Pohle.* [Wissenschaftliche Schriftenreihe für Rundfunk und Fernsehen, Band I.] (Hamburg: Verlag Hans Bredow Institut. 1955. Pp. 480. DM 15.80.)

WITH untold possibilities of development after the initial technical problems were solved in the early 1920's, the radio quickly challenged the newspaper press as the most effective instrument of mass communication. Historians have nevertheless been slow in coming to grips with it, for it involves not only the technical difficulties of treating propaganda in general but others as well. As a result, little of the necessary spadework has so far been done. For the use of the radio in German politics, Dr. Pohle's monograph goes far to meet this need. Sponsored by the Hans Bredow Institut (Bredow was to a large extent the founder of the German radio) of the University of Hamburg, it is the first volume of a series on radio and television and a worthy addition to the valuable contributions of German scholarship to the study of the newspaper press. It calls attention to the need of similar studies in other countries.

The author combines the chronological and analytical methods with good results, treating the Weimar Republic and the early years of the Third Reich in the first two parts and selected problems of National Socialist foreign policy in a third. Since the totalitarian purposes and methods of National Socialist propaganda have already received much attention, Dr. Pohle's discussion of the Weimar period is fresher and, in some respects, more enlightening. It reveals a progressive increase of governmental ownership and control through successive directives until von Papen virtually completed the process in 1932; in this direction, little remained to be done by the National Socialists. At first and in theory, the republican government used its control in support of a neutral attitude in politics in order to foster independence of judgment, as in panel discussions by spokesmen of various parties—the Communists and National Socialists always excepted—but practice departed more and more from theory. President Hindenburg, Foreign Minister Stresemann, and other officials spoke over national hook-ups without providing equivalent facilities for the opposition to reply, and news reports were not allowed to depart from the sense of officially prepared texts. Under von Papen, the government planned a more thorough political exploitation of the radio, but the Hartsburg Front enabled Gregor Strasser, Joseph Goebbels, and others to expound Nazi doctrine freely over the air.

While Dr. Pohle believes with reason that the Republic erred in not using the radio more extensively in its own defense, it is a fact that the radio had little or nothing to do with Hitler's rise to power. Hitler and Goebbels, who had con-

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stantly attacked the Republic's radio policy, promptly seized it, expanding its sending installations and its audience in every possible way, and integrated it into the vast propaganda machine. In regard to techniques, there was a good deal of trial and error, but the author's conclusion is doubtless correct that the radio played a large part in impressing the National Socialist pattern and the Hitler myth upon the German people. The discussion of the *Anschluss* and the Saar plebiscite, though interesting and useful for the administrative details it contains, has little that is new.

For the substance of his study, Dr. Pohle's most valuable sources are the hitherto largely unexploited professional journals and other contemporary periodicals, and he acquired useful oral and written evidence on key questions from surviving witnesses. He was unable, through no fault of his, to use the possibly nonexisting archives of Goebbels' propaganda ministry. It is high time that their fate should if possible be ascertained and any surviving material released for scholarly research along with the greater part of Goebbels' diaries that is missing from Louis P. Lochner's book.

*Duke University* E. Malcolm Carroll

DAS HEER UND DIE REPUBLIK: QUELLEN ZUR POLITIK DER REICHSWEHRFUHRUNG, 1918 BIS 1933. By *Otto-Ernst Schüddekopf.* (Frankfurt a. M.: Norddeutsche Verlagsanstalt O. Goedel. 1955. Pp. 399. DM 14.80.)

To describe this interesting and important volume as a "source book" is to do it scant justice. Mr. Schüddekopf has indeed brought together—from printed documentary series, contemporary memoirs, newspapers and periodicals and unpublished papers—a body of source materials which will in themselves be enormously useful to students of military policy in the Weimar period, especially since the selections are supplemented with exhaustive notes which are filled with valuable bibliographical information. But the author's balanced and objective introductions to the various sections of this book and his thoughtful and lengthy comments on the materials presented are as interesting as the selections themselves; and this book must therefore be included in any list of the best histories of the German army in this period.

As one would expect, Mr. Schüddekopf's main theme is the failure of the army leadership to adjust itself to the situation created by the fall of the monarchy and the establishment of the republican government in 1918. This was a failure, he shows, that was attributable, among other things, to the shock caused by the enforced break with tradition, to the effects of the war in destroying the homogeneity of the officer corps, to the emphasis within the army upon technical proficiency at the expense of other values (a theme which Friedrich Meinecke elaborated in his last work), and to a propensity for playing politics while professing to be nonpolitical, a failing which led in the end to a fatal alliance with the most

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disciplined and "national" of the political parties, the NSDAP. But the author does not blame the army's failure exclusively upon the military chiefs themselves. He insists that it was due in part to the difficulties caused by the doctrinaire and unrealistic military policy of the Social Democrats. Much that he has to say in this latter respect, and many of his documents, have a striking relevance to the current army debates in Germany.

The selections are arranged in seven sections: the first two dealing with the revolution of 1918 and the Ebert-Groener agreement; the third with the Freikorps; the fourth largely with the Kapp *Putsch* and the troubles in the Ruhr in 1920; the fifth with the Seeckt period; the sixth with relations between the army and the republic in the late twenties; and the seventh with relations between the Reichswehr and the NSDAP between 1930 and 1933. This last section includes, among other things, the most satisfactory discussion of the effects of the so-called Ulm *Prozess* that has yet appeared, in addition to some most interesting illustrations of the policies of Kurt von Schleicher.

Most of the materials in the first four sections (which occupy less than a third of the book) will not be new to students of the period. The last three sections, however, include a good deal of material that is either new or from sources that are hard to come by; and the hundred-odd pages on the army and National Socialism are especially rich in selections from the Groener papers (as edited by Reginald Phelps and others) and the Schleicher collection at the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich.

*Princeton University* GORDON A. CRAIG

PREUSSEN UND RUSSLAND VON DEN ANFÄNGEN DES DEUTSCHEN ORDENS BIS ZU PETER DEM GROSSEN. By *Kurt Forstreuter*. [Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Band 23.] (Göttingen: Musterschmidt Verlag. 1955. Pp. 257. DM 16.80.)

THIS excellent outline of the early phase of Prussian-Russian relations is a revised and enlarged edition of the author's previous study *Preussen und Russland im Mittelalter* (Osteuropa Verlag, 1938. Osteurop. Forschungen, N.F. Bd. 25). More than half the book (pp. 17–182) is devoted to the diplomatic aspects of the Prussian-Russian relations against the extremely complicated international background of eastern Europe. The second part of the book deals with the personal contacts between the Russians and Prussians ("Russen in Preussen," pp. 183–88, and "Preussen in Russland," pp. 189–95), trade (pp. 196–214), and cultural interrelations (pp. 215–34).

The difficulty in handling his subject, which the author has overcome in a masterly way, is that neither Prussia nor Russia remained the same during the period the author deals with (1240–1700). Prussia changed completely her political and ideological face after the Reformation, and Russia had not one but several faces in the early part of the period studied by the author. Until the seculari-

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zation of 1525, the Teutonic Order *was* Prussia. As the Livonian Order became part of the Teutonic, Prussia was involved in Livonia's struggle with Novgorod and Pskov, often against her own interests. The Teutonic Order constituted a militant branch of Roman Catholicism, not a territorial state. The Order was supposed to wage a permanent war against the unbelievers (to which class the Russians as "schismatics" belonged). The Order could conclude, when necessary, an "armistice" with the unbelievers but no permanent peace (pp. 19, 48). It was only when Prussia became a secular duchy that the principles of her foreign policies toward Russia could have been officially changed. As for Russia, during the Mongol period Belorussia and Ukraine recognized the authority of the grand duke of Lithuania, and Galicia was annexed to Poland. The two city-states, Novgorod and Pskov, were virtually independent, while in the east the Grand Duchy of Moscow grew steadily.

In view of the complex and constantly changing situation, the author had to deal separately with "Prussia and Ukraine" (pp. 21–42), "Novgorod and Pskov" (pp. 43–57), and "Prussia between Lithuania and Moscow" (pp. 58–74). Not until the beginning of the sixteenth century did direct relations between Prussia and Moscow become important, and it is with these relations that the remaining chapters in the first part of the book are concerned: "Prussia and Moscow, 1511–1525" (pp. 75–100); "Herzog Albrecht and Moscow, 1525–1568" (pp. 101–15); the fantastic "Interlude" of the adventurers Hans Schlitte and Veit Seng (pp. 116–36); "Prussia, Poland, and Russia, 1572–1640" (pp. 137–57); and finally "Brandenburg and Russia, 1640–1700" (pp. 158–82).

Forstreuter's work is based on a careful study of the German archive materials, as well as on that of the published documents, both German and Russian. The book will be of great assistance to the students of the history of both Prussia and Russia, as well as of that of eastern Europe at large.

*Yale University* GEORGE VERNADSKY

ISWOLSKY UND AEHRENTHAL VOR DER BOSNISCHEN ANNEXIONSKRISE: RUSSISCHE UND ÖSTERREICHISCH-UNGARISCHE BALKANPOLITIK, 1906–1908. By *W. M. Carlgren*. (Uppsala, Sweden: Almquist & Wiksells Boktryckeri. 1955. Pp. xii, 334.)

RUSSIA and Austria-Hungary were rivals in Balkan affairs from the eighteenth century on, and in the successive crises of the nineteenth century usually took opposite sides. In 1897, however, because Russia was becoming increasingly involved in the Far East and Austria was torn by internal dissensions, Balkan problems were "put on ice" by an agreement to maintain the status quo. This was reinforced in 1903 when the conservative Russian minister Lamsdorf and the cautious Austrian minister Goluchowski worked out the Mürzsteg program for reforms in Macedonia. Both ministers retired in 1906, and their successors, A. P. Izvolsky in Russia and Baron Aehrenthal in Austria, were both ambitious men whose

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recklessness led to a crisis of the first magnitude, that produced by the Austrian annexation of Bosnia in October, 1908.

It is with the activity of the two ministers prior to the annexation crisis (which has been fully explored by other writers) that Mr. Carlgren concerns himself. He has been able to use the archives of the Vienna foreign office and the private papers of some Austrian diplomatists, and also various Russian documents published in *Krasny Archiv* and elsewhere. But he does not confine himself to Austro-Russian relations; he shows how these were affected by the policies of Germany, France, Britain, Italy, and Turkey. He has produced, then, a well-rounded study which offers a safe and sure guide to a complicated situation.

Long before he came to the Ballhausplatz, while he was ambassador in Russia, Aehrenthal had conceived the plan of annexing Bosnia, Serbia, and Old Serbia to the Habsburg state—and of paying Russia for this by agreeing to a Russian seizure of Constantinople (p. 19). Since Izvolsky took office with the determination to change the existing rule at the Straits (p. 74), a "deal" seemed likely enough, and at first the relations between the two ministers were cordial. But Izvolsky was intent on an *entente* with Great Britain, which Aehrenthal did not relish, while the latter was anxious to revive the Three Emperors' League, which the former did not like. Further disagreements followed about Macedonian reforms and Balkan railways, with the result that Austro-Russian relations became more strained than they had been for twenty years. Mr. Carlgren tells this story clearly and fully, leaving no doubt that Aehrenthal, somewhat unscrupulously, outplayed Izvolsky and maneuvered him into proposing, on July 2, 1908, to trade Russian consent to the annexation of Bosnia (hitherto withheld) for Austrian support for the opening of the Straits. In view of his previous experiences with Aehrenthal, Izvolsky might have been wary, but he did not hesitate and plunged into a course which led to his undoing. Mr. Carlgren stops at this point.

*Alexandria, Virginia* BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

BELORUSSIA, THE MAKING OF A NATION: A CASE STUDY and A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE TO BELORUSSIA. By *Nicholas P. Vakar.* [Russian Research Center Studies, Vol. XXII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. xii, 297; xii, 63. $6.50, $2.00.)

THE chief difficulty in the study of Belorussia's history lies in defining the scope of the topic. The term "Belorussia" and its derivatives include at least three distinct and by no means fully compatible ingredients: the territory presently incorporated in the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic; the population of this territory, consisting of Belorussians proper as well as Jews, Russians, and Poles; and, finally, the Belorussian national movement. The territory of Belorussia lacks an independent history: its history is that of the Kievan state, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Russian Empire, and its successor, the Soviet Union. The population which inhabits this area—native and non-native alike—

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has at no point in the past displayed definite awareness of a specifically Belorussian national consciousness, and, insofar as it was called upon to show preference, tended to identify itself with its culturally superior neighbors, particularly Poland and Russia. As for the nationalism of the Belorussian intelligentsia, the best that can be said for it is that it represents a belated and rather faint echo of the nationalist movement which has been agitating the minorities of the Russian state ever since the nineteenth century. It has failed dismally in establishing any lasting contact with its own population, and played virtually no part in the history of either the territory or the people of Belorussia.

The fundamental shortcoming of Mr. Vakar's book is his failure to distinguish these diverse elements of the problem. His ostensible purpose is to trace the emergence of Belorussian nationhood, but since this process is of quite recent origin and by no means clearly manifest, he is compelled to devote a considerable part of his narrative to the history of a territory and a population whose relationship to this process has been of a most tenuous kind. The very title of his book reflects some of the confusion inherent in this approach.

Within these limitations, Mr. Vakar has done a good and workmanlike job. His research has been thorough, and his narrative is dispassionate, steering successfully between the rocks of pro-Belorussian and anti-Belorussian prejudice. The evidence which he adduces tends to confirm the impression prevalent among uncommitted students of the subject that the emergence of a full-fledged Belorussian nation lies still in the future. The Belorussian S.S.R. may well represent a rather unusual example of a people in possession of a "state" (if the term is at all applicable to the so-called Soviet republics) before it has attained to national consciousness. The reason for this phenomenon, as well as for the admission of Belorussia to the United Nations (a fact to which Mr. Vakar seems to attach undue significance) must, of course, be sought in the internal and external needs of the Soviet regime rather than in the pressures of Belorussian nationalism. For the future prospects Mr. Vakar has this to say in conclusion: "The waters are not clear, and Belorussia is still in the making."

The bibliography to this book is unfortunately published and sold under separate cover. This in itself need not be condemned as a bad publishing practice, since it keeps down the price of the text, were it not for the fact that the author uses in his references a code system which can be deciphered only with the aid of the separate bibliography. The main volume is, therefore, not entirely self-contained. The extensive and carefully prepared bibliography includes of necessity a large number of titles which deal not with the Belorussian nation but with its neighbors and political masters. It represents a most useful tool for future research on the subject.

*Harvard University* RICHARD PIPES

HISTORIA POLSKI. Volume I, DO ROKU 1764. Part 1, DO POŁOWY XV W. Part 2, OD POŁOWY XV W. Edited by *Henryk Łowmianski*. [Pub-

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lished under the auspices of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Institute of History.] (Warsaw: State Publishing House for Scholarly Works. 1955. Pp. 630; 780; maps.)

THIS volume was published for the express purpose of discussion from which a definitive work is to emerge. It is the first major attempt to interpret the history of Poland in conformity with the ideology and objectives of the ruling Communist party. Judged by the general performance of its authors—as well as by the current attack against Stalin, whose works are cited liberally—this volume will require much revision.

In this symposium by several authors, the history of Poland is presented in terms of continuous class struggle. It reads as a chronology of mass uprisings by workers and peasants against the nobility, the church, and occasionally against foreign invaders. While pursuing this oversimplified theme, the authors have been compelled to devote a great deal of attention to diverse aspects of Poland's economic, social, and political organization. In particular, they have emphasized the relationship among various layers of Polish society, the way of life, the development of technology, and the significance of trade. They have also treated cultural topics at considerable length. Much of the information on these and other problems is based on pre–World War II literature. Some is supported by new source material and archaeological findings. The entire volume is liberally sprinkled with citations from Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

In addition to examining economic, social, political, and cultural problems, this work attempts to reinterpret the history of Poland's foreign relations. As might be expected, the authors greatly exaggerate the discords between Poland and the West, viz., the Holy Roman Empire, the papacy, and Prussia. Russo-Polish disagreements, on the other hand, are either minimized or attributed exclusively to aggressive policies of the Polish aristocracy and/or the Roman Catholic Church. Hence, the authors contend at great length that one of the basic motives behind the Polish-Lithuanian Union was the desire of the Polish and Lithuanian magnates to enlarge their estates at the expense of the Russian principalities. They regard this desire for expansion as one of the fundamental causes of Poland's downfall, for, in their view, Russia was "consolidated and ready" for any eventuality—notwithstanding the prevailing belief of would-be aggressors to the contrary (Part 1, pp. 514–15; Part 2, pp. 182, 212).

These and other *simpliste* interpretations seem to wander far from the historian's general task of sifting and evaluating diverse source material and reconciling its conflicting testimony. Religious, cultural, political, and defensive considerations, which are almost entirely neglected in this work, weighed far more heavily in establishing the Union than did the alleged desire for territorial expansion.

This new appraisal, motivated as it manifestly is by contemporary political circumstance, is based not on historical reality but on Marxist classics and on the

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works of Soviet historians. The entire volume, in effect, bears a striking resemblance to standard Soviet histories on Russia as to interpretation, organization, and presentation.

Despite several valuable sections on domestic problems, the overwhelming one-sidedness of this volume prevents it from meeting the scholarly standards of a historical work. Its chief contribution lies in useful essays on bibliography and historiography, as well as numerous photographs, plates, and drawings. It is to be hoped that in revising this work the authors will be able to provide their readers with more intellectual light that guides rather than blinds.

*Portland State College, Oregon* BASIL DMYTRYSHYN

THE BALKANS IN OUR TIME. By *Robert Lee Wolff*. [The American Foreign Policy Library, Russian Research Center Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. xxi, 618. $8.00.)

THERE can be few jobs of historical synthesis more difficult than the writing of a contemporary history of the Balkans. Professor Wolff has successfully done this. Concentrating on the years since 1939, and even more on the period since 1944, which comprises over half the book, he has amassed a tremendous quantity of scattered material to produce a thoughtful account of recent developments in Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Albania. Many students of the Balkans will regret the exclusion of Greece, but the author has chosen to deal only with the Communist-dominated states. Throughout the book looms the shadow of Russia.

A geographical survey of this peninsula of "inner fragmentation and outer accessibility" is followed by a description of the Balkan peoples and by a one-hundred-page history of the area from Byzantium to World War II. This introductory section is sprinkled with observations on the effects of Balkan society and history on contemporary problems. It concludes with an economic survey emphasizing the endemic poverty of the peasantry.

Developments during World War II are taken largely country by country; here the most interesting sections are on the partition of Yugoslavia under Nazi domination, on the Tito-Mihailovich controversy, and on the Yugoslav influence in organizing Albanian Communists. For Westerners perhaps the most instructive part recounts how Communists achieved domination between 1944 and 1948, and particularly how in Rumania and Bulgaria they splintered and destroyed the leadership of other parties. Meanwhile Russian political and economic influence —the latter especially through joint companies like the Sov-Roms in Rumania— increased apace. Albania emerged as a "satellite's satellite," dependent on Yugoslavia. The analysis of the Soviet-Yugoslav dispute and its repercussions is well done. For the years since 1944, Wolff gives as much space to economic as to political analysis, probing the difficulties of forced collectivization and industrial development. Nor does he omit international disputes, some of which reveal pointedly that Balkan Communists cannot forget their nationalism.

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In a way it is too bad that Professor Wolff did not have, when he wrote, the full Yalta documents and Krushchev's speech to the twentieth party congress. The latter would have furnished him Stalin's magnificent dictum: "I will shake my little finger—and there will be no more Tito." But it is a tribute to Wolff's book that such revelations would change nothing essential in it. He wrote in 1954, adding in the summer of 1955 an epilogue which adumbrates the recent Yugoslav-Russian rapprochement.

In spots the account is crammed with names of Balkan politicians and parties which will make hard sledding for the uninitiated reader. But other passages are clear and even entertaining. Balkan specialists will find occasional points or omissions with which to quarrel. The author seems somewhat more at home in Rumania and Yugoslavia than in Bulgaria. But this is a painstaking work; though footnotes are held to a minimum, authorities are frequently cited in the text, and a good bibliographical essay is appended. This is obviously not the last word on the recent history of the four countries, but it is certainly now the best.

*George Washington University* RODERIC H. DAVISON

## Far Eastern History

FAR EASTERN POLITICS IN THE POSTWAR PERIOD. By *Harold M. Vinacke,* University of Cincinnati. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1956. Pp. xii, 497. $5.00.)

"THE climate of American opinion" on Far Eastern affairs during the past decade has multiplied many times the perils of the contemporary historian whose function even in periods of "normalcy" is difficult enough. Thus the appearance of *Far Eastern Politics in the Postwar Period* is doubly welcome, for it is not only a convenient, detailed survey but also a temperate narrative so unlike the monstrous propaganda of recent years as to suggest the study of some remote time rather than the contemporary scene.

Of its approximately 500 pages slightly more than 100 are given to the historical background setting of 1945. Here the author deals in compressed form with: "The Rise and Fall of the Japanese Empire," "Power Relationships in the Far East before 1945," and "The Kuomintang Period of the Chinese Revolution." The remainder of the study, save for a brief chapter of conclusions, ranges across the whole area of the Far East, 1945–1955, treating such major fields as: Communism in China, the People's Republic, the Korean war, imperialism and nationalism in Indochina, postwar Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, and the Philippines, and concludes with extensive treatment of postwar Japan.

The major contribution of this study is its presentation of the essential detailed narrative extracted from the great mass of contemporary and confusing evidence available. Each chapter contains a selected bibliography chosen with discrimination. The usefulness of the volume would have been greatly increased by an adequate documentation throughout the text.

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The study is not easy reading nor is the style enlivened by the color, the emotion, the tragedy, or the accomplishments of the past ten years. The student who wishes to feel the action, the conflict of Far Eastern revolution, will not find it in these pages. What he will find is a careful factual narrative, a valuable source for reference, and an interpretation marked by such restraint as at times to becloud violent issues rather than to highlight them.

*Duke University* PAUL H. CLYDE

## American History

THE COLONIAL AMERICAN IN BRITAIN. By *William L. Sachse.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 290. $5.50.)

IT is difficult to avoid the unpatriotic conclusion that a very large proportion (perhaps, even, a majority) of the people who settled the British colonies of North America, especially those of the first generation who had first-hand knowledge of the Old World, would have eagerly forsaken their American homes and returned whence they had come had it been financially or, in some cases, legally possible for them to have done so. Many had come, like thousands of European emigrants in the nineteenth century, with the clear intent to return as soon as they had amassed money and property enough (or both) to join the ranks of the "gentlemen"—or at least of the wealthy tradesmen—of their homeland. Others had come, of course, for conscience's sake—voluntarily, as in the case of the English and many of the Scots and Germans, or involuntarily, as in the case of the French Huguenots and some others. But even among those who had left their homelands for religious "freedom," many would have gladly returned to risk their souls' salvation among the known hazards of prelacy, popery, idolatry, and persecution in preference to the wild, ill-regulated, formless, dangerous, rude, unpredictable, and uncivilizing forces of colonial life. Death cut short the hopes of many; poverty and hard luck born of a lack of initial capital, ineptitude, and poor planning left many more disillusioned and sick at heart, "stuck" in the American wilderness. John Dunton, in his *Letters from New England,* wrote that colonists in the Massachusetts Bay, "even to their 80th year," were "still pleasing themselves with hopes of returning to England." Such hopes were by no means confined to the people of the Bay Colony nor, for that matter, to the English colonists alone.

Professor Sachse presents 207 pages, buttressed with 65 pages more of footnotes, devoted to those American colonists who, by one means and another and for one reason and another, managed to return to Europe and to stay there permanently or, more frequently, to make one or more visits to their homeland, some of which were of several years' duration. Attention is focused almost solely upon English colonists who returned to England, although a few visited Scotland or Ireland and even made something of the Grand Tour of the Continent.

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They consisted, generally, of students who went to England for their education; Anglicans who went to London to receive holy orders; sectarian missionaries (mostly Quakers); colonial agents dispatched on official business; land speculators; merchants; persons seeking political preferment; emissaries seeking aid for charitable and educational enterprises; men of science, letters, and arts; pre-Revolutionary patriots petitioning for colonial rights; and Loyalists of the American Revolution. Most of these were persons of means (their own or the public's); very few belonged to that larger, despairing element referred to above, nearly all of whom were doomed to remain in the colonies and to become the immediate forefathers of the United States of America.

There is much information about the perils of ocean voyages, the rising costs of transport, where colonials stayed in London, the favorite inns and coffee-houses, the clubs, the places visited, etc. American colonials seemed to do about the same things that tourists do today. Professor Sachse finds Anglophilism widespread in the colonies until the eve of the Revolution. Some colonials who visited England after about 1765 appeared to believe that the homeland was becoming decadent; but most of them still considered England "home" even after the Revolution.

This is a meticulous, detailed, solidly founded, matter-of-fact book. It is unfortunate, perhaps, that the book fails to impart the emotional aspects of "going home" or of yearning to return "home" that so patently affected large segments of the colonial population.

*University of Illinois* RAYMOND P. STEARNS

TRAVELS IN THE OLD SOUTH: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. Volume I, THE FORMATIVE YEARS, 1527–1783: FROM THE SPANISH EXPLORATIONS THROUGH THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Volume II, THE EXPANDING SOUTH, 1750–1825: THE OHIO VALLEY AND THE COTTON FRONTIER. Edited by *Thomas D. Clark*. [The American Exploration and Travel Series, No. 19.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1956. Pp. xix, 330; xv, 292. $20.00 the set.)

SEVERAL years ago the University of Oklahoma Press published E. Merton Coulter's *Travels in the Confederate States* (1948) in its "American Exploration and Travel Series." Chronology recovers lost prestige in the first and second volumes of southern travel bibliography which Thomas D. Clark and his associates have been compiling for a dozen years. Seven historians—A. B. Thomas, Hugh T. Lefler, Lester J. Cappon, John D. Barnhart, William B. Hamilton, Walter B. Posey, and Culver H. Smith—have contributed period-regional segments to the present installment. Five hundred and seventy entries are listed for the three-century span; nearly four hundred of them are for its last seventy-five years.

Among observers of early southern life and institutions were explorers, soldiers, land hunters, and immigrant agents; Quaker, Anglican, and Catholic mission-

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aries; teachers, farmers, and merchants; political philosophers and sightseers; surveyors, physicans, and scientists. Many of them were Americans, but British, French, Spanish, German, Dutch, and other foreigners made valuable reports on what they saw and experienced, often surpassing natives in accuracy and comprehensiveness. Travelers wrote about the long ocean voyage to America; the habits, religious practices, and intertribal warfare of the Indians; the conflict between homeland and colonies; governmental structure, public officials, and democracy; brickmaking, shipbuilding, and flour manufacturing; staple crops, agricultural methods, and Negro slavery; flatboats on the western waters, overland travel conditions, inns, and taverns; social experiments and social affairs of the pioneers; George Washington ("America's most notable tourist attraction"), Jefferson and Monticello, Madison, and George Mason; natural history, diseases, and a hundred and one other subjects that stimulated thought or aroused curiosity.

The travel bibliographies are designed, the general editor asserts, solely for scholars in search of eyewitness evidence of life in southern commonwealths. Some slight changes in form have been made since the publication of the Confederate volume, the editor has made a more systematic search for other editions of annotated titles, and the entries have been lengthened from a half-page average to nearly a page. The annotations in the present volumes vary from a few lines to two or three pages, and include biographical notes, the circumstances of authors' travels, their itineraries, and the nature and value of their works. The critical appraisals are often masterpieces of evaluation. Industry, painstaking search for accurate data, critical and precise presentation are apparent in every segment. A few errors and inconsistencies are of no great consequence, and the editor's modest disclaimer of completeness accentuates the volumes' fundamental worth, which straggling omissions of titles and reprints could hardly destroy.

A compiler comments that "most of those travel accounts that escape the general censure of worthlessness and unreliability are written either by persons who settled down in some particular locality for a generous period or by persons who were learned and skilled in some field of knowledge." Scientists' reports were meritorious "even when they stray[ed] into fields outside their specialty." With some notable exceptions, sojourners' accounts in these volumes as well as in later generations were more illuminating than the recordings of tourists who traveled fast and who were likely to be impressed with the unusual and the bizarre. Collectively, the books and pamphlets of sojourners and tourists illustrate almost every phase of "southern" life. It should be understood that during much of the period covered by Volumes I and II travelers were writing about an area that was southern only in latitude and about people who had not yet developed an awareness of southernism. The compilers do not indicate when travelers began to sense a sectional distinctiveness; perhaps visitors before 1825 saw little evidence of southern consciousness.

*University of Oregon* WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON

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JAMES WILSON, FOUNDING FATHER, 1742–1798. By *Charles Page Smith.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1956. Pp. xii, 426. $7.50.)

MANY students of the Revolutionary period have called the contributions of James Wilson to the attention of historians—Randolph Adams' *Selected Political Essays of James Wilson,* Julian Boyd's superb sketch of Wilson's career in the *Dictionary of American Biography,* and Irving Brant's evaluation of Wilson as second only to Madison in the formation of the Constitution, to name the most obvious. Professor Smith's volume, however, is the first published, full-length biography.

On the whole, the allotment of space given by Professor Smith to various phases of Wilson's career is balanced. The book can be divided into four almost equal parts: the period before 1780; the 1780's until the Constitutional Convention; the formation and adoption of the Constitution; and Wilson's later years. The narrative moves smoothly, although it could be tightened in places—the discussion of the Stamp Act and Wilson's role in the Continental Congress are good examples —where too much general history interrupts rather than adds to the biography.

Professor Smith contributes the most when writing about the personal side of Wilson. We now know somewhat more about Wilson's youth and education, we see his home life in clearer perspective, and we have a sharper picture of his final tragic months when, harassed by creditors, he retreats to North Carolina to spend the last days of his life, broken in body and spirit. In addition, Professor Smith, quite properly, lays stress upon the mind of Wilson. In this respect, Wilson's finest hour comes in constitution-making, which the author clearly recognizes by devoting the better part of five chapters to tracing Wilson's significant role point by point. Throughout the book the author frequently credits the Enlightenment with influencing Wilson's ideas, but this generalization is rather drastically modified in a summary paragraph (p. 261).

Other parts of this biography are less satisfactory. When the author writes of Wilson the lawyer and particularly Wilson the speculator, the results are disappointing. The account of Wilson's land dealings, to cite an instance, lacks substance; and there is little investigation, except in the most general fashion, as to precisely why and how Wilson's personal fortunes became so tangled. Equally disturbing is the author's tendency to claim too much for Wilson, for it leads to distortion. Broader investigation, for example, would correct several factual assertions made with respect to Wilson's part in the debate on finance in the Continental Congress in 1783, and a more exact reading of the evidence would modify certain emphases in the discussion of the Bank of North America. The absence of a bibliography, from the scholar's point of view, is also regrettable. This is especially true of manuscript materials, for the papers of Wilson are limited and a biographer, as a result, is compelled to research exhaustively in the personal papers of many of Wilson's contemporaries.

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Professor Smith's understanding biography is important in placing renewed emphasis upon the contributions Wilson made to his country. However, to place Wilson among the first rank of the Revolutionary generation is, perhaps, to miss the essential irony of his career, that a man of second rank was desperately ambitious to be accepted by his contemporaries as a man of first rank—but without success.

*Northwestern University* CLARENCE L. VER STEEG

CHIEF JUSTICE JOHN MARSHALL: A REAPPRAISAL. Edited by *W. Melville Jones,* Director, Marshall Bicentennial Program, College of William and Mary. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1956. Pp. xviii, 195. $3.00.)

THIS excellent book includes nine papers presented as part of the Marshall bicentennial program at William and Mary. Following prefatory material by the editor, Chief Justice Warren, and Professor Carl B. Swisher, the topics fall into three parts: "Marshall and His Times," with papers by David J. Mays, Arthur N. Holcombe, and Irving Brant; "Judicial Review," by F. D. G. Ribble and Charles Fairman; "Some Special Contributions of Marshall to the Law," by Julius Goebel, Jr., Joseph Dorfman, George L. Haskins, and Donald G. Morgan. All the contributors are well-known scholars, and their papers are worthy of their authors and of their subject.

This "reappraisal" does not substantially alter the generally held picture of the great chief justice, though many interesting facets of his career are newly brought into prominence. Thus Holcombe points out that Marshall's chief reason for supporting the new Constitution was to augment veterans' benefits and to provide "greater security to the special interests of businessmen and property owners" (pp. 27–28). Unlike Jefferson, he had little concern for religious freedom, social reform, or the Bill of Rights (pp. 28, 89). However, he was not a pro-British ultraconservative like Fisher Ames, George Cabot, Theodore Sedgwick, and Alexander Hamilton, but a moderate conservative of the John Adams stamp, even opposing the Alien and Sedition laws as politically suicidal (pp. 30–31, 91). Mays describes the political background of Marshall's youth, emphasizing the degree to which the landed aristocracy "joined" the Revolution in order to retain control of the state government after separation from England (p. 16). Marshall was never an advocate of democracy. In pessimistic mood he wrote, "I fear, and there is no opinion more degrading to the dignity of man, that those have truth on their side who say that man is incapable of governing himself" (p. 33).

Brant emphasizes that, because purchase-money notes for the Fairfax property had to be met, Marshall's acceptance or refusal of public office during the period 1793–1800 was dictated by mercenary motives. He accepted appointment as envoy to France, at a profit of $15,000, "a year's income almost equal to the combined salaries of the President and his entire Cabinet" (p. 44). Other offices he was obliged to refuse. Had he not had debts to pay, Marshall might have been Secre-

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tary of State at the beginning of the Adams administration, and his political adroitness might have changed the course of history by preventing the internal collapse of the Federalist party.

Dean Ribble points out that "political review," operating through local party politics and the power of the Senate, still protects "states' rights" even if the Supreme Court's recent self-restraint has cut down the area of "judicial review" (p. 76). Fairman stresses that "Our federal system offers, not one simple choice between national authority and state sovereignty, but rather a wide range of devices." Like Marshall, "we must employ all our imagination and resourcefulness to fashion the arrangements best suited to the problems of our time" (p. 85).

Goebel lays an ax to the myth that Marshall was not competent in handling legal precedents but relied on Story for his citations (pp. 101, 116, 120). Dorfman and Haskins describe Marshall's concern for property and commerce. Morgan analyzes the influence of Marshall's colleagues on the course of Supreme Court decisions, dispelling the idea that the other members of the Court were nonentities without influence.

Historians as well as lawyers will enjoy this book and rejoice that the lapse of two centuries since Marshall's birth has called it forth.

*Uniontown, Pennsylvania* EDWARD DUMBAULD

THE FIRST REPUBLICANS: POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND PUBLIC POLICY IN THE PARTY OF JEFFERSON AND MADISON. By *Stuart Gerry Brown,* Professor of Citizenship and American Culture, Maxwell School of Citizenship, Syracuse University. (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1954. Pp. vii, 186. $3.00.)

IN this admirable study Professor Brown traces the guiding ideas that motivated certain of the founding fathers, notably what might be called the "liberals" of the Revolutionary period. These were, in the first place, Jefferson and Madison, and also Mason, Paine, Gallatin, and Monroe. This group of remarkable men—the "first Republicans"—were not only the architects of the American Republic but also, as Professor Brown so clearly demonstrates, the theorists of the American democracy. Indeed, their actions were guided by fundamental political theories and assumptions about human nature as it operates in organized society. This was especially true of the two most famous statesmen-intellectuals of the period: Jefferson and Madison.

At bottom, their ideas derived from Locke and were first given eloquent expression in America by an Englishman, Thomas Paine. His *Common Sense* was the best-seller of its day and had an immeasurable impact upon America at the most critical moment of its nascent history. Paine's writings deeply impressed leading Americans, including the greatest of them, George Washington, whom Professor Brown curiously ignores. Yet it is well known that General Washington was guided by republican ideas which he held with as much con-

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viction as, say, James Madison. Although this has not been sufficiently pointed out in the past, an analysis of Washington's writings, especially in the realm of political and religious liberty, shows him to be closer to the Jeffersonian Republicans than to many of his Federalist colleagues.

The theory of republican government which guided the thought and action of the men who dominated the federal government between 1801 and 1825 consisted, according to Professor Brown, of nine elements. These were: the belief that human nature is capable of improvement; human beings had inalienable rights; governments arise by consent of the governed; acceptance of limitations on personal liberties in order to achieve social stability; retention of the right to change the "social contract"; the right of the majority to govern and of the minority to consent; property-ownership as a measure of civic and social responsibility; no right for any government to legislate its own interest at the expense of posterity; the value of government is to be measured "by the extent to which it secures equality of opportunity for individuals and protects civil rights and liberties." Professor Brown might have added another element to his summary, namely, Madison's basic notion that the way to secure freedom in any society is to distribute rather than concentrate power in all possible fields, economic, political, and religious. As he used to put it, the more religious sects there are the more secure they are in their freedom to worship, since no one church would be in a position to dominate the rest.

All in all, this is a fine and, indeed, invaluable book for the student of history, political science, and society in general. It is learned, lucid, concise, and always fair. The only criticism that a scholar may have is that the book lacks an index.

*New School for Social Research* SAUL K. PADOVER

CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Volume IV, PHILOSOPHY [CONCLUDED], FINE ARTS. Compiled by *E. Millicent Sowerby*. (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress. 1955. Pp. viii, 568. $6.25.)

FOR the scope and method of this truly monumental undertaking one may refer to the reviews of the preceding volumes (*AHR*, LVIII [July, 1953], 930 and LIX [April, 1954], 638). Volume IV contains the last part of the chapters dealing with "Philosophy" (chaps. xxv–xxix) and the chapters treating of the "Fine Arts" (xxx–xxxviii), altogether 952 items, from 3663 to 4615.

Under "Philosophy," which naturally is taken by Jefferson in its eighteenth-century sense, are included the chapters entitled "Mathematics," "Physico-Mathematics," "Astronomy," and "Geography." They bring out aspects of Jefferson's interests often overlooked by his biographers. Despite his practical bent, the Sage of Monticello did not neglect the theoretical side of the sciences. Under

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"Pure arithmetic" (3663–3700) and "Pure geometry" (3701–18) are listed the standard works available at the time, thus supporting Jefferson's contention that "my own attachment to the exact sciences has made them the principal enjoyment of my leisure hours" (to Dufief, Dec. 26, 1812). The section on geography is extraordinarily rich (3818–4172). Ancient and modern geography are well represented, but, as could be expected of a citizen of the world who remained intensely American, Jefferson took particular care to gather as complete a library of Americana as he was able to obtain, including early works which even at that time were not easily found (3959–4172). The firsthand materials discovered and reproduced by Miss Sowerby for some of the articles in that section constitute small monographs written in Jefferson's own words. Such are the comments on the *Notes on Virginia,* Chastellux, Volney, and Lewis and Clark.

The part dealing with the fine arts calls for some remarks. The articles on architecture (4225–29) amply confirm the views of Fiske Kimball on the competence of Jefferson, the importance and choice of the items being particularly to be noted. The articles on gardening treat, in fact, of landscape gardening, which is a form of architecture, and should not prevent one from referring to Betts's edition of *Thomas Jefferson's Garden Book*. Similarly it will be felt that the list of books on the fine arts (4230–49) hardly justifies Jefferson's contention that he was "an enthusiast on the subject of the arts." The same reservation applies to the items on music (4250–61), very few of which were entered in the catalogue of books sold to Congress, while Jefferson certainly owned a large number of musical compositions. The sequence of the chapters on literature (4262–4615) might well puzzle a modern bibliographer. Some of the titles undoubtedly reflect Jefferson's literary taste, such as the collections of Homer's and Shakespeare's editions and the works of the "ancient poets." The choice of the modern and contemporary writers is probably less significant and certainly less systematic. One must note, however, the place occupied by American authors, who seldom obtained recognition in the college libraries of the time. Omissions as well as inclusions might well give pause to the biographers of Jefferson. Unfortunately, literary comments are exceedingly scarce in his correspondence and he seldom expressed any opinion of the authors he mentioned. For more limited but more precise indications one still has to resort to the thin "Commonplace Book of Philosophers and Poets" preserved in the Library of Congress and published under the title *The Literary Bible of Thomas Jefferson* (Baltimore, 1928). For an over-all discussion of the value of the catalogue as a contribution toward a better understanding of Jefferson's mind one must wait for the last volume, which will contain an index, additions, and errata. But already all the Jeffersonians owe a great debt of gratitude to the bibliographer for throwing new light on some facets of the multitudinous personality of the great American whose interests and curiosity were world-wide.

*Princeton University* GILBERT CHINARD

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FREEDOM'S FETTERS: THE ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS AND AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES. By *James Morton Smith.* [Cornell Studies in Civil Liberty.] (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1956. Pp. xv, 464. $5.00.)

TEN years ago it could be correctly said that very little that was really new had been written on the Federalist age in the previous thirty years. Since then there has been a renewal of interest in that period and our understanding has been much improved by the significant work of a dozen or more scholars. Now comes James Morton Smith with a bright torch to illumine other dark corners. His work is solidly grounded on the *Annals of Congress,* contemporary newspapers, court records, and private papers.

In his introductory chapter Mr. Smith deals with the central theme of the political history of Federalism—its logical development into the "authoritarian alien and sedition system." Chapters II–VIII detail the passage of the Naturalization, Alien, and Sedition Acts, admirably summarizing the arguments in the Congress. The question of the meaning of the "general welfare" clause of the Constitution was exhausted by the debaters, Federalists arguing that it was an extension of power while Republicans urged that it was merely a limitation on the power to tax. The tone of the debate was often shocking, just as we are often shocked by legislators' verbal excesses in any other age of passion. Mr. Smith establishes a new emphasis by his clear showing that President John Adams contributed very much to the creation of the national excitement during which a Sedition Act could be temporarily popular. This he did by his numerous public replies to addresses from warmly partisan public meetings called in reaction to the "XYZ Affair." (It might have been added that the President leaned very heavily on the European dispatches of the Department of State's chief "expert" on Jacobinism, John Quincy Adams, who was at no time stationed in France.)

Chapters IX–XVII describe the enforcement of the acts. It seems no longer possible to doubt that nearly all of the prosecutions were political, or personally vengeful, or both, and this description fits the conduct of the judges as well as the executive officers. Judges Samuel Chase and William Paterson were peculiarly unjudicial and vindictive. It is also surprising to notice the myopic lack of fraternity among publishers. Not only did administration organs exult at the suppression of rival newspapers but they even instigated prosecutions, although the prosecutors were nullifying the constitutional right of newspapers to practice political criticism. All completed prosecutions were in courts, but there was an abortive proposal to try William Duane, editor of the Philadelphia *Aurora,* at the bar of the Senate, for breach of privilege. This suggestion seems eccentric to Mr. Smith, but is well within our legislative tradition. The only reason today's contempt-of-Congress proceedings go to court is to save the time of the Congress. The Congress could arrest, try, convict, and incarcerate in its own dungeons, in

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every such case from 1789 until now, without reference to attorney general or judge, if it chose to do so.

As a result of Mr. Smith's work the passionate debate on national security in the Federal years need not be restudied in the foreseeable future. By and large, this book is recommended with but a single reservation: the index is not a trustworthy guide to the contents.

Mr. Smith has taught a great moral. The punishment of political critics for the crime of being political critics did not silence the opposition to Federalism. Indeed, the publicity of their trials gained them greater readership than before. Finally, the concluding chapter proves, if proof is needed, that the sense of the American community in the Revolutionary generation was that the guarantees of free speech and free press were positive—they did not merely forbid prior censorship but, affirmatively, were intended to assure the proper information and correction necessary to the functioning of a government of a free people.

*University of Notre Dame* MARSHALL SMELSER

CHARLES BEARD AND THE CONSTITUTION: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF "AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION." By *Robert E. Brown*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1956. Pp. v, 219. $3.50.)

EVER since its appearance in 1913, Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* has engendered different opinions. Though William E. Dodd acclaimed the volume in this *Review* (XIX, 162–63) as "extraordinarily stimulating" and felt "the author has certainly succeeded beyond the promises of his preface," a historian of equal eminence, John B. Latané, wrote elsewhere that in "this deliberate attempt to upset all our traditional ideas as to the nature and purposes of the men who formed our national government," Dr. Beard "signally fails to prove his main theses." Now R. E. Brown attempts the first full-scale analysis of this controversial volume. His dissection of Beard's work chapter by chapter reveals the thoroughness of the detail. Brown's chief emphasis is on Beard's historical methods. Such an examination is certainly called for. He concludes in sum that Beard's argument in places is inherently inconsistent, that Beard quoted out of context or omitted quotations damaging to his case, that he relied primarily upon secondary works, that his resort to such sources as he utilized was chronologically faulty, that he drew conclusions from evidence that he himself admitted did not exist, that he used key words like "coup d'état" and "disfranchised" without precise definition, that he often substituted inference and innuendo for fact. Brown concludes, "If historians accept the Beard thesis, . . . they must do so with the full knowledge that their acceptance is founded on an 'act of faith,' not an analysis of historical method, or that they are indulging in a 'noble dream' not history." Among the dangers confronting authors of works like this under review is that the momentum of belligerence may carry them into

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objecting to everything and that they may be contaminated by the methodological errors they are criticizing. In my estimation Brown has not entirely escaped this second hazard. But when all reservations have been made, the evidence he assembles is impressive, and American historians, particularly those who have given lectures or written books based on the Beard thesis, ignore Brown's book at their peril. It is impossible to summarize or paraphrase this evidence in a brief review.

What hypothesis does Brown substitute for the "economic determinism" which was neither as primary in the case of the Constitution nor as single in form as Beard thought? For his part Brown asserts that the country at the time of the Constitutional Convention was predominantly middle class and politically democratic and that the work of the founders reflected this milieu. In 1940 Professor Arthur N. Holcombe, for one, somewhat anticipated this thesis in his *The Middle Classes in American Politics*. It will be interesting to see whether American historians will quickly surrender a doctrine so many of them have cherished and taught. Perhaps it will hasten the reorientation if we realize that "Uncle Charlie" welcomed controversy in which he gave and asked no quarter. I believe he would have relished Brown's hard-hitting volume; whether, in the face of the evidence here presented, he would have retreated from his original position is a surmise of a different color. At least the present reviewer recalls that, in the early thirties, he received a personal letter from Beard reflecting the master's dissatisfaction with "economic" factors as explanation for things in general and expressing a preference for emphasis upon "political" interests and considerations.

*Bowdoin College* EDWARD C. KIRKLAND

LINCOLN RECONSIDERED: ESSAYS ON THE CIVIL WAR ERA. By *David Donald*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1956. Pp. xiii, 200, xiv. $3.00.)

PROFESSOR David Donald, whose past research has enlarged the factual frontiers of Lincoln literature, thinks that the time has come to halt, or to hold temporarily in abeyance, further research in the Civil War field, and to assess the meaning of the vast collection of knowledge we now possess. As he expresses it, scholars of the period should change their emphasis: "concentrate less upon uncovering some long-forgotten body of manuscripts and more upon rethinking the basic issues of the Age of Lincoln."

Thinking about the Civil War era is the task to which Mr. Donald devotes himself in his little book, *Lincoln Reconsidered*. As a secondary objective, he has sought to apply to Civil War historiography the tools and methods of the related social sciences, previously employed in evaluating other areas of American history by other young historians. Consisting of articles by the author which have appeared in various journals, the book is really a collection of essays dealing with the Lincoln theme. It has, nevertheless, a surprising unity; only the

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last essay, "Toward a Western Literature, 1820–60," seems to be tenuously connected with the others.

The titles of the nine essays indicate both the content of the book and the techniques and objectives of the author. Two chapters, "Getting Right with Lincoln" and "The Folklore Lincoln," deal with the Lincoln legend and the Lincoln symbol, and represent an attempt to utilize the methods of the cultural anthropologists and folklorists. "Herndon and Mrs. Lincoln" examines the myths and realities of Lincoln's domestic life. In "Toward a Reconsideration of Abolitionists," Mr. Donald, employing the tools of the social psychologists, suggests that the motivating force behind abolitionism was the social frustration of members of old Northeast families in an industrial society. "Abraham Lincoln and the American Pragmatic Tradition" treats Lincoln's political philosophy in sensible fashion. A particularly penetrating piece is "Refighting the Civil War," which relates military history to cultural patterns and shows the influence of Jomini upon Civil War strategists. Finally, there are two essays on Lincoln's leadership in the war: "A. Lincoln, Politician" and "The Radicals and Lincoln." In the latter, Mr. Donald asserts—with the certainty of arousing dissent—that the Radical Republicans were not a cohesive or a consistent faction and that the differences between them and Lincoln have been exaggerated by historians, notably by the reviewer.

*Lincoln Reconsidered* is a solid work, in many ways a brilliant one. Its ranging opinions deserve to be pondered by all scholars in the field. In the publisher's blurb, the adjective "seminal" is used, and the term is not an exaggeration.

*Louisiana State University* T. Harry Williams

LINCOLN'S SONS. By *Ruth Painter Randall.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1956. Pp. xvi, 373. $5.00.)

This is an effort to recover the personality and lives of Lincoln's four sons—Eddie who died at the age of four in Springfield, Willie at twelve in the White House, Tad at eighteen in Chicago in 1871, and Robert at eighty-three in Vermont in 1926. It is more than the story of these four sons for, as Mrs. Randall points out, the father and mother cannot be relegated to minor roles. This is also a moving story of intimate, happy family affairs, of complex family relationships, and finally of high tragedy. It helps to round out immeasurably the picture of Lincoln the President.

The Lincolns coddled their children. The father, anticipating a later attitude toward child rearing, thought it more important for them to be loved and indulged than to be disciplined. Consequently Willie and Tad and the Taft children ran wild in the White House. Tad was the "wildcat" of the gang who could always be counted on for original "plans." Through the lively play of these children, Mrs. Randall contributes largely to a better understanding of all life inside the executive mansion.

After the family left Washington, the portrait of Tad, as he grew into adoles-

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cence in Chicago and abroad, becomes somewhat blurred, obviously because of a dearth of material. On the other hand, the portrait of Robert emerges clearer than ever before. To this previous enigma, Mrs. Randall devotes the last three chapters, in addition to liberal treatment in the earlier chapters while he was growing up. Her purpose is to portray Robert's developing personality primarily in relation to his father and mother, not to give a detailed narrative of his life as a lawyer, an opulent businessman, Secretary of War, and minister to England. Much of the snobbery formerly ascribed to Robert either melts away or is understandably accounted for. But much of it continues to lurk between the author's lines, and one suspects that some of the judgments are the author's "feel" rather than the real, which more elaborate research might better have revealed. A thorough investigation in the future of his business and public career will undoubtedly throw much more light on his personality.

Among the interesting new materials here used is a letter of Leonard Swett from the David Davis collection describing Mrs. Lincoln's sanity trial. To tell the unsuspecting woman that she was to stand trial was a real terror, says Swett. Yet, as the evidence shows, he went about it with a minimum of tact and tenderness.

This perceptive book, written with feeling and charm and delightful to read, is a major contribution to Lincoln literature.

*University of Virginia* EDWARD YOUNGER

THE CIVILIAN AND THE MILITARY. By *Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 340. $6.50.)

THE cold war has had many important by-products. Since it has prevented the usual postwar return of the American armed services to a status of comparative insignificance, one of these has been the prolongation of the period of severe criticism to which those services have traditionally been subjected following the nation's ordeals by battle. To the literature of this current criticism Mr. Ekirch, professor of history at the American University and author of other works on different phases of the intellectual history of the United States, has contributed a careful survey of antimilitaristic thinking throughout American history. Although the title might seem to suggest a somewhat broader theme, Professor Ekirch does not attempt a general treatment of past efforts to outline the proper relationship between the military and civil arms of our government. He is content to summarize the record of antimilitarism, which he is careful to distinguish from absolute pacifism. "Unlike the complete pacifist, who is opposed to all use of force, the antimilitarist may accept war and armies as a sometimes necessary evil, although he regards a large military establishment and conscript armies, even when needed, as a threat to the preservation of civil institutions of government" (p. vii).

Beginning with a chapter on the colonial background, the author comes on to the founding fathers and then proceeds methodically to trace out the streams of

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antimilitaristic thought which have risen and receded with each successive war in our history. Half the book is devoted to the period since 1900, with one chapter recording the attack on the R.O.T.C. programs in the 1920's and '30's. "Toward the Garrison State" is the heading for the final section on developments since World War II. In preparing his work Mr. Ekirch has made good use of the *Congressional Record,* congressional hearings, and other governmental documents, and the records of various antimilitaristic organizations such as the American Union against Militarism of the pre–World War I era.

Professor Ekirch writes as an uncompromising antimilitarist, although he grants that the typical one "has opposed expansion overseas or intervention in world affairs" (p. vii). The story he tells shows clearly enough that Jefferson and others who have been of the author's general persuasion when out of power have changed their minds when charged with the responsibilities of office and forced to deal with the facts of international political life. But Mr. Ekirch does not choose to discuss in any detail the implications of such shifts or to consider whether the increase in the size and obligations of our present armed services may not necessarily produce in time certain modifications in outlook and a general improvement, if not a semi-civilianizing, of standard operating procedures. At times the reader may feel that the doctrinaire has prevailed over the historian, as when the author attempts to discredit recent public opinion polls which have regularly indicated popular support for conscription (p. 279). But within his chosen limits he has generally written with fully professional competence. He has undertaken to summarize the record of American antimilitaristic thinking and he has produced a readable and useful digest.

*University of Michigan* MARSHALL KNAPPEN

PATRIOTISM ON PARADE: THE STORY OF VETERANS' AND HEREDITARY ORGANIZATIONS IN AMERICA, 1783–1900. By *Wallace Evan Davies.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1955. Pp. x, 388. $6.00.)

PROFESSOR Davies' book is described in its subtitle, *The Story of Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783–1900;* since, however, few such organizations existed in the United States during the years from 1783 to 1865, that period is covered in one chapter of twenty-seven pages, and the rest of the book is devoted to the years from 1865 to 1900. For these years Professor Davies describes or lists, if the count of this reviewer is correct, thirty-four veterans' and twenty-eight hereditary organizations, ranging in size from the Grand Army of the Republic's peak membership of 409,489, to groups with less than 500 members. He describes the composition and varied activities of the veterans' and hereditary organizations—activities such as, among others, social functions, efforts to influence the writing and selection of school textbooks, efforts by veterans' groups to secure legislation favorable to veterans, the expression of "judgments

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on public questions," and the support of newspapers and magazines. Professor Davies estimates that there appeared "nearly seventy newspapers and magazines specifically catering to the new audiences opened up" by veterans' and hereditary groups (p. 105). Finally, the book contains comments on the reaction of the rest of the nation to the veterans' and hereditary organizations. No previous book covers the same ground as *Patriotism on Parade,* so far as this reviewer knows, and it is clear that this volume is based on extensive research in the sources. Some portions and some aspects of the story told in this book, however, have been discussed in the published writings of Oliver, Glasson, McMurry, Pierce, Buck, Schlesinger, Gabriel, Heck, Wecter, Curti, and Dearing. Professor Davies makes careful acknowledgment of the writings of these authors, but the excellence of many of their studies reduces the contribution that even an able synthesis like *Patriotism on Parade* can make.

This book has a number of admirable qualities, two of which can be noted in the space available here: the sense of historical perspective and the judicious interpretation which characterize it throughout. Professor Davies constantly relates his account of veterans' and hereditary organizations to the social and intellectual trends in society at large, thus avoiding a parochial approach and placing his subject in realistic perspective. Similarly, he shows intelligent awareness of the problems involved in evaluating the organizations he studies, and he handles this problem of evaluation in an understanding fashion; the book does not contain the stereotyped judgments either of uncritical sympathizers with veterans' and hereditary organizations or of uncritical antagonists of those organizations. Professor Davies evinces a historical outlook and temperament which could well serve as models for all historians.

*Patriotism on Parade* would have been of greater value to its readers had it presented all the available evidence, or a systematic summary and analysis of all the available evidence, pertinent to its major generalizations. For example, the volume contains such important and interesting generalizations concerning the membership of veterans' and hereditary organizations as these: that the members of veterans' societies came from comparatively low income groups and did not possess a high level of formal education, while the members of the hereditary societies were drawn from propertied business and professional groups with a high level of formal education; and that the hereditary organizations drew their membership primarily from cities in the area extending from the District of Columbia to Massachusetts. It would have been worth while indeed had this volume contained a comprehensive summary and analysis (in tabular form if necessary) of all the available data bearing on these and its other significant generalizations. Such a body of data would go far toward answering any questions concerning the validity of the generalizations contained in the book, and it would also serve as a mine of information for anyone interested in the subject now or in the future.

*University of Washington* THOMAS J. PRESSLY

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THE IRISH IN AMERICA. By *Carl Wittke*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 319. $5.00.)

THE Irish are among the best known of the immigrant groups that participated in the settlement of the United States. Well back in the colonial period, individuals among them already made their presence felt in the New World; and the mass migration that began more than a century ago persisted until our own times. Furthermore, this group was not cut off as some others were by an unfamiliar language. The fact that they spoke and wrote English had a double meaning. It made them familiar to their contemporary neighbors; and it has left the sources for their history more accessible to American scholars than are those of most other immigrants.

Yet, although a number of excellent monographic studies have dealt with particular aspects of the Irish migration, there has been no comprehensive study of its character as a whole. Most of the writers who have dealt with the subject have brought to it a pietistic and anecdotal attitude not compatible with the methods of modern scholarship; and few trained historians have been aware of the importance of these problems. We are therefore most grateful to Dean Wittke for his pioneering effort to bring the story together in a lucid, undogmatic, and objective manner.

The volume focuses primarily upon the century between 1830 and 1930. There are a few scattered comments on the natives of Ireland in colonial America and there are also occasional observations on the more recent past. But the bulk of attention is properly given over to the period of high immigration of the mid-nineteenth century. A succession of topical chapters describes the role of the Irish newcomers in various aspects of American life, economic, political, social, and cultural. Dean Wittke deals extensively with the usual aspects of the problem—the role of the immigrants in the economy and in government. But he also touches upon the less conventional phases—the labor movement, the professions, and the stage. In general, the work follows the lead of the well-known secondary monographic accounts; but the author has, in addition, gone beyond these writings and has dipped into the primary sources deeply enough to enable him to speak with authority.

There are a few significant omissions. It is surprising, for instance, to find no reference to the Ku Klux Klan, although earlier nativist movements are adequately treated. Again, much more might have been said about the fraternal and benevolent societies, which were the way to the development of the Irish-American community. On specific points, also, one could question the interpretations of the author. Yet, on the whole, his judgment is sound and uncontroversial.

The most serious limitation of the study springs from its episodic quality. Each topic is treated, in the chapter devoted to it, without much reference to its place in the whole story. There is no room therefore for the consideration of larger questions. To what extent was this movement similar to, or different from,

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the migration of other peoples to the United States? What was the distinctive quality of Irish Catholicism? What was the character of the Irish integration in American life? Dean Wittke's book draws together the material for the answers, although it does not itself supply them.

*Harvard University* OSCAR HANDLIN

THE GREAT BURLINGTON STRIKE OF 1888: A CASE HISTORY IN LABOR RELATIONS. By *Donald L. McMurry*. [Studies in Economic History, published in co-operation with the Committee on Research in Economic History.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. x, 377. $6.00.)

THIS is a pioneering book. In spite of the numerous works on American labor history, it remained for McMurry to write the first detailed, complete, and authoritative account of a major strike as seen from the perspective of each of the major participants. Access to the massive records of the Burlington and the Illinois Central railroads gave him particularly full insight into the actions of the managements; available sources for the brotherhoods and government officials were public in nature and less copious.

McMurry has sifted this mass of material with diligent eyes and a judicious head. The results justify his labor. He is able to show, for instance, that the Burlington management was convinced first that no strike would occur, later that a few agitators had misled the men, assumptions that both proved far wide of the mark. He shows that the strikers thought the railroad could not operate without them, a bit of conceit that had woeful results. He shows the schisms and conflicts within the labor forces, both within each brotherhood and among all the brotherhoods, and he shows similar schisms on the management side. We watch the president of the Burlington hand down suggestions and instructions which are sabotaged by his subordinates; we watch while the Illinois Central, for competitive reasons, takes actions which favor the Burlington strikers. And along with this, McMurry gives much information on labor injunctions, secondary boycotts, dynamite in labor disputes, the role of the Pinkertons, the staggering arrogance of corporate officials which was to be immortalized fifteen years later in George F. Baer's dictum.

In writing in detail about such a complex episode, the chief danger is probably incoherence and lack of focus. McMurry has guarded against this by adopting a largely topical organization. Thus he achieved clarity, but he also sacrificed something: the excitement of a chess game in which each move is a countermove. By tidying up the story he has obscured the process and eliminated the turmoil and confusion of labor disputes, the enormous pressure on a man who must simultaneously make decisions on six major problems even though he lacks the factual information to resolve any one of them. I am sorry, for instance, that McMurry does not show us the Burlington officials seeking to placate irate shippers, which must have been a major headache for them.

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As an alternative route to coherence, McMurry might have considered giving a cast of characters with brief biographies, and a condensed chronology of events. These items would be very useful to the reader.

Nonetheless, any faults this book may have are minor blemishes. If enough people read it, the water line of knowledge in this country, perhaps even of wisdom, may rise perceptibly.

*New York, New York* RAY GINGER

LAISSEZ FAIRE AND THE GENERAL-WELFARE STATE: A STUDY OF CONFLICT IN AMERICAN THOUGHT, 1865–1901. By *Sidney Fine*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1956. Pp. x, 468. $7.50.)

APPEARING very shortly after Richard Hofstadter's *Age of Reform* and Hans B. Thorelli's *Federal Antitrust Policy*, Dr. Fine's study invites us to notice what a huge effort has been invested toward comprehending the modern domestic policy of the United States. A number of books, many of them written by economists or lawyers, have analyzed the substance of economic events and policies: the development of the corporation, the history of individual businesses, the state and federal statutes and rulings which have established controls, and so on. Historians have tended to be circumstantial, probing into the backgrounds and tracing the continuities of policy and reform; and those specially interested in the history of ideas have scrutinized in detail the convictions which—from the time of Henry George and William Graham Sumner to that of Herbert Hoover and F. D. R.—impelled or restrained the shift from laissez faire to Progressive and New Deal measures.

Entering a field where there are many workers, but where much remains to be done, Dr. Fine limits himself to the development of ideas, and, except for twenty-five pages in conclusion, to the period before 1900. The achievement which distinguishes his book from earlier writing of the same category is that he works both sides of the field: he discusses both laissez-faire ideas and general-welfare ones, and he is more objective about them than some predecessors have been. But the fault of the virtue of coverage is that he turns up hardly enough fact that is new or revisionist, or enough interpretation that is broad, to justify his remarkable labors. In the opening section of the book, for instance, in taking a long hard look at laissez-faire thought, he traverses a terrain of history of which sizable sectors have been surveyed by Dorfman and Hofstadter, and by Henry May, Benjamin Twiss, and Robert McCloskey, and more minutely subdivided areas by yet other investigators. Likewise in the major section of the book, where Fine examines the development of welfare-state ideas, he recapitulates the thought of Social Gospellers who have previously been well presented by Hopkins, May, and Abell. Yet from first to last the author (while acknowledging his predecessors) has examined the sources independently and perceptively, and at points, perhaps

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best in his study of the ideas held by lawyers, social scientists, and philosophers in the universities, he reports fresh material.

His subtitle to the contrary notwithstanding, Fine follows the intellectual historian's ancient procedure of categorizing representative thinkers, and summarizing or quoting from them. In pioneering a field, or in presenting it to beginners, this method often seems inevitable. But when a history of a conflict of thought is intended, a parade formation of ideas ceases to be very useful, for it is different from the battle march. In this book the discussion of the major proponents of state action—Henry George, Edward Bellamy, Lawrence Cronlund, H. D. Lloyd, and others—is made to *follow* the three-chapter discussion of Social Gospellers and social scientists. This violates history: these reformers more often and more characteristically precipitated the new preachings and teachings than the other way round.

Yet the virtue of broad scope and of vision of both sides of the question remains as always a virtue. The book is a solid and useful survey, a trustworthy statement of the forces of ideas which entered a historic combat, rather than a battle history.

*Johns Hopkins University* CHARLES A. BARKER

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN PETROLEUM PIPELINES: A STUDY IN PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND PUBLIC POLICY, 1862–1906. By *Arthur Menzies Johnson,* Department of English, History, and Government, United States Naval Academy. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press for American Historical Association. 1956. Pp. xiii, 307. $4.50.)

THIS is a splendid book from several different points of view. It is a pioneer study, the first scholarly work to be published on the development of American petroleum pipelines from 1862 to 1906. The author has consulted and used a wide and rich variety of source materials and produced a readable, well-organized, and significant study. The book is adequately documented and contains a number of appropriate illustrations and maps. The objective of the author is to trace the development of petroleum pipelines from 1862 to 1906 and especially the growing conflict between private ownership of these lines and the public interest that led to state and federal regulation. He has admirably succeeded in accomplishing his purpose. One hopes that the author will continue his research and publish another volume on the years since 1906. Many more studies like this should be written about various aspects of the petroleum industry.

The book is divided into eleven chapters. They relate to the introduction and development of a vast network of gathering pipelines in western Pennsylvania after the drilling of the famous Drake well in 1859, the importance of pipelines to trunk railroads and allied rival refining centers in their fierce competition for the oil trade, the consolidation of pipelines in the oil region into a few great systems, efforts on the part of producers and refiners in the oil region to relieve their

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economic distress through state and federal legislation and the construction of trunk pipelines to the eastern seaboard, the development of Standard Oil's pipeline system and its emergence as the dominant factor not only in refining but in transportation, pipelines as an issue in various antitrust investigations, the mounting attacks upon Standard Oil, the emergence of the Pure Oil Company as a strong pipeline competitor of Standard, the events that led to the passage of the Hepburn Act, and the opposition of the petroleum industry to including federal regulation of pipelines in the law.

Throughout the book the author emphasizes the conflict between private ownership of pipelines and the public interest. His conclusion is that the development of pipelines was the product of private enterprise and a bitter, competitive, intra-industry struggle between oil producers, the railroads, the refiners and certain refining centers, and other interested business groups to promote their own economic self-interest. In the struggle each group sought to sway public opinion against its adversaries and advance its own interests through governmental intervention and regulation.

*Hamline University* PAUL H. GIDDENS

THE UNITED STATES PATENT SYSTEM: LEGAL AND ECONOMIC CONFLICTS IN AMERICAN PATENT HISTORY. By *Floyd L. Vaughan.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1956. Pp. xvi, 355. $8.50.)

THIS book is so full of meat that it is difficult to compress its useful features within a brief review. Its subtitle essentially describes its purpose of appraising the uses and abuses of the patent system in a highly competitive industrial society. Much space is given to analyses of the ownership of patents, cross licensing, pooling, patent consolidations, cartels, control of supplementary products, and suppression of patents with an eye to antitrust legislation. There is nothing simple in the narrative though the author does shed light in many dark corners as he works through the intricate tangle of legal problems in the pursuit of cases. His conclusions provide penetrating studies of each major issue.

This work shows how significant have been scores, indeed hundreds, of actions brought by the Department of Justice in which, in resulting consent decrees, companies of great magnitude have agreed to dissolve pools, eliminate objectionable clauses in pooling agreements, license patents to nonmembers of the pool, even to make patents available under certain conditions royalty free and to end price fixing and price discrimination. Uncertain and changing attitudes of the courts are brought out. For example, in 1926 the Supreme Court conceded the right of the patent owner, the General Electric, to license manufacturers with price restrictions. In examining the effect of these restrictions in later cases it first weakened its stand in the General Electric case and then overturned it.

The author thinks of the cartels as a new type of colonialism whereby countries without colonies encouraged industrial research through liberal patent sys-

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STEPHENS COLLEGE
COLUMBIA, MO.



tems, reserved "their markets in the name of patents rather than the flag, and thus depended upon patent laws and agreements rather than conquest. Territory was divided, not by pope or treaty, but through cartel agreements. . . ." Patent cartels were used by the country in which they most successfully flourished—Germany—to achieve military objectives while they were at the same time retarding America's development of such important industrial items as buna rubber and tungsten carbide. That American industrial companies were maneuvered into positions that discouraged or prevented domestic production of such essential goods is to say the least astonishing.

Of the nearly three million patents that have been issued it is estimated that over ninety-nine per cent are questionable because they have not been tested in the courts. Nevertheless, companies find it profitable to continue to pay royalties on weak patents because in doing so they benefit from price control. Most outstanding of suppressed inventions were the dial telephone and fluorescent lights. A majority of the Supreme Court has permitted the suppression of patents through a patent system that was designed to promote the progress of science and invention.

*The United States Patent System* is not easy reading but it is a valuable and stimulating study. Its evaluation of proposed remedies for antisocial results that stem from the system is not its least contribution.

*Cornell University* PAUL W. GATES

MACARTHUR: HIS RENDEZVOUS WITH HISTORY. By Major General *Courtney Whitney*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1956. Pp. xi, 547, xiii. $6.75.)

GENERAL Whitney wrote this book so that "this and future generations may accurately formulate their impressions of the titanic influence he [General MacArthur] has had and, if permitted, still might have on the course of events in Asia." If this volume were entitled *MacArthur as I Saw Him,* one would have nothing but praise for the effort. It is with the claim that this book presents some kind of a "rendezvous with history" that one must protest.

General Whitney makes MacArthur appear as the only leader who made no mistakes in World War II, as the only American administrator of an occupied area who made no mistakes in the postwar period, and as the only American leader who made no mistakes during the Korean war. This was in spite of deception, intrigue, and opposition at home. The author implies that General Marshall hampered and deceived MacArthur in World War II, and that General Marshall, Secretary Acheson, and President Truman hampered and deceived him during the Korean war.

There is space in this review to test only two sections of General Whitney's book with the documents available. The first section (pp. 3–60) deals with the ill-fated campaign in the Philippines in 1941. Here Whitney presents a picture

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of MacArthur being deceived by Roosevelt and Marshall, abandoned by the Navy, and fighting a forlorn battle against "hordes" of Japanese in "superior numbers" (pp. 16–17).

His account of the strategic planning and policy decisions in this period should be checked against Mark S. Watson's *Chief of Staff: Prewar Plans and Preparations* (Washington, 1950), pages 411–53, and against M. Matloff and E. M. Snell's *Strategic Planning for Coalition War, 1941–1942* (Washington, 1953), pages 11–29, 43, 45, 120–23. They cite the documents and place the Philippine campaign in its proper context in a global war of many fronts. MacArthur happened to be on a front where economy of effort was imposed by the over-all strategic plans.

As for MacArthur having to fight in the Philippines against "sweeping hordes" and "superior numbers" of Japanese in 1941, Louis Morton's *The Fall of the Philippines* (Washington, 1953), pages 57–59, 70, 125, cites the documents showing the actual numerical relationship between MacArthur's forces and the two Japanese divisions and supporting troops which made the invasion. MacArthur's reputation as a great soldier does not require an exaggeration of the numbers of the well-trained and well-equipped Japanese force.

When one checks Whitney's account of the Korean war with the testimony given in the MacArthur *Hearings,* it is possible to draw quite different conclusions about a number of events. For example, Whitney (p. 415) complains that when MacArthur launched his ill-fated offensive in the far north on November 24, 1950, the supply situation was unfavorable and that limitations on air reconnaissance and the enemy's skill at concealment was making the intelligence job difficult. On that very day, however, MacArthur's headquarters in a special communiqué to the United Nations spoke as follows:

> . . . The giant UN pincer moved according to schedule today. The air forces, in full strength, completely interdicted the rear areas and an air reconnaissance behind the enemy line, and along the entire length of the Yalu River border, showed little sign of hostile military activity. . . .
>
> Our losses were extraordinarily light. The logistics situation is geared to sustained offensive operations. . . . [*Hearings,* Part III, p. 1834]

Four days after General MacArthur's full claims to history had thus been presented in advance, the longest retreat in American military history began.

It was natural that MacArthur's staff should have been concerned with providing an explanation for this outcome. Whitney blames the surprise of November 28 on the failure of the CIA to provide intelligence about Chinese Communist intentions, yet General Collins, the Army Chief of Staff, testified that ninety per cent of all intelligence about Chinese capabilities and intentions came from MacArthur's headquarters (Part III, p. 1234). After MacArthur's Wake Island estimate of what would happen if the Chinese Communist forces tried to cross the Yalu and advance toward Pyongyang proved to be completely wrong, the Wake Island conference began to be described as "a sly political ambush" (p. 395). It

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is only by comparing the earlier optimistic reports of MacArthur's headquarters to the United Nations with the later reports (sometimes dated as late as forty days after the event) that one can see how the great offensive to end the war was made to appear as a very fortunate reconnaissance in force.

For those who want General MacArthur presented without a single flaw in the full glory of his rhetoric, this is the book.

*Santa Monica, California* H. A. DeWeerd

JOHN A. MACDONALD: THE OLD CHIEFTAIN. By *Donald Creighton.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1956. Pp. ix, 630. $7.50.)

This volume completes an outstanding biography of a major figure in Canadian history during the period since Confederation. It is an even better book than the first volume, subtitled *The Young Politician,* not because the author has been more exacting in his standards of scholarship, which are unvaryingly high, but because the later period lends itself to an exposition of larger themes. Canada was now becoming a nation and was subject to the growing pains which accompany that status. Nation-building was Macdonald's chief concern—one might say his only concern. It is a subject to which Mr. Creighton does full justice.

Macdonald's chief concern was with the necessity of Canada's maintaining the Anglo-Canadian alliance to thwart the expansionist tendencies of the United States thus to "secure and maintain its separate political existence in North America." Macdonald had said that Canada "must belong either to the American or British system of government" for a hundred years before the nation would be "strong enough to walk alone." No one could have been more strongly opposed to the American system. Throughout his life he was a living embodiment of the phrase he used so tellingly in his last election campaign in 1891, "A British subject I was born—a British subject I will die."

Nevertheless, as Mr. Creighton explains, winning independent and diplomatic status from Great Britain was a task with which Macdonald was endlessly concerned. His unhappy experience with Earl de Ripon and Grey, as one of the British commissioners negotiating the Treaty of Washington in 1871, is here described in considerable detail. So is the problem of the reservation of a Canadian statute by the governor general during the fisheries controversy in 1886.

The most illuminating parts of the book apart from the above are those relating to the suppression of the Red River Rebellion and the financing and building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, both of which were designed to provide a firm basis for strengthening the Dominion against expansionism from the United States; Macdonald's belief that unrestricted reciprocity with the United States would hamper the development of Canadian nationhood; and his concern over the rise of French Canadian nationalism which threatened the unity of the nation.

Ten photographs of Macdonald and others and nine reproductions of con-

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temporary cartoons lend flavor to this sympathetic yet critical biography of Canada's most colorful statesman.

*Albany, New York* ALBERT B. COREY

THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY OF CANADA: 1920–1949. By *John R. Williams.* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1956. Pp. x, 242. $6.00.)

THE study of Canadian political parties by Canadian historians and political scientists lags far behind the work done in American universities on American parties, not to mention the work done by such nonacademic students as Samuel Lubell. And it must be added in shame that a large proportion of the most useful recent books on Canadian politics has been written by American students. Mr. Williams now adds to this list. He has produced a work of sound and illuminating analysis, full of shrewd judgments, with chapters on the leadership of the Conservative party, on its organization and finance, on its electoral fortunes in eight general elections, on its career in parliament, and on its philosophy and policies.

His judgments on the successive leaders, and especially on the present leader, Mr. George Drew, are severe; but, in the opinion of this reviewer, not too severe. He has, however, succumbed to what may be called in contemporary academic Canada the Meighen myth; finding Mr. Meighen intellectually so superior to any of the other politicians whom he has encountered in reading or interviews, he has tended to accept too easily the Meighen interpretation of the events of the 1920's and 1940's, and to see a noble Meighen struggling in vain with ignoble opponents.

Mr. Williams' first chapter on historical background consists mainly of material that is drearily familiar to Canadians, though it may seem fresh to Americans. His last chapter on policies is too short and sketchy. The ultimate reason for the inadequacy of the Conservative party in these years was that its policies did not fit the needs of the Canadian people, whereas Liberal policies were nicely adjusted and timed so that they seemed to crystallize what was vaguely going on in the minds of most Canadians. Mr. King was the man who divided Canadians least; Mr. Meighen was the man who divided them most.

Mr. Williams' pessimistic conclusions about the future of the Conservative party may require revision in a few years in view of the "new look" which its strategists have been trying to give it. His dire apprehensions about a horrible future in which a Liberal party and a "doctrinaire" socialist party would alternate in office, with differences dividing them so great as to put a severe strain on the normal operation of the party system, must be based upon the reading of Harold Laski rather than on the study of Canadian politics. For, as all the rest of his book shows, Canadian parties, by the time that they have become capable of government, have shed whatever doctrinaire tendencies they may have had and

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have become composite coalitions practicing an opportunistic, pragmatic group-diplomacy.

*University of Toronto* FRANK H. UNDERHILL

OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN ARMY IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR. Volume I, SIX YEARS OF WAR: THE ARMY IN CANADA, BRITAIN, AND THE PACIFIC. By Colonel *C. P. Stacey*. (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier; Queen's Printer. 1955. Pp. xii, 629. $3.50.)

IN 1948 Colonel Stacey gave us the history of the Canadian Army, 1939–1945, in a single, very readable book. In the present volume he has written the first of three which will present that history in greater detail, to be followed by a fourth on Canadian military policy which will include co-operation within the British Commonwealth and with the United States.

Each part of the present volume in turn takes its subject all the way to 1945: in Canada, in Britain, and in the Pacific. Canadians fight in this volume only at Dieppe and at Hong Kong. They had to wait four years before they were committed to a major campaign, and the reader will have to wait for the next two volumes to get the full record of their fighting in Italy and northwest Europe. Meanwhile, except for this, and with the other important exception of broad policies, the present volume covers every topic in a closely packed, carefully considered, clearly written narrative. Within its scale and scope it is an encyclopedia of historical information.

I find it hard, therefore, to understand why the author insists in his preface that this work, like its predecessor, is for the general reader rather than the student—unless Canadian readers have a far greater appetite for military history than ours. Certainly the studious reader will respect the expertness and integrity of its scholarship. This is backed by the researches of a staff whose solid and critical knowledge of the war our Army historians are in a position to appreciate, very gratefully. Because Colonel Stacey is a soldier as well as a scholar, military readers will respect the judgments on military questions that he does not hesitate to express.

The point of view of the author as a historian is frankly military. Insofar as this volume touches on broader issues, he is, naturally, faithful to a national line, as are official—and most other—historians of all nations. Finally, he has chosen to confine his presentation of persons to their names and official acts and statements. This is impersonal history.

I have one serious quarrel with the book, and it is directed at publishers. The footnotes are in the back. Like every serious reader I need to have in view the flow of the author's information. With this two-pound book on my lap, that imposed a labor of Sisyphus, and when I had the maps unfolded, a struggle comparable to that of Laocoön. When are we going to do something about this?

*Washington, D. C.* KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD

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LA MINERIA Y LA METALURGIA EN LA AMERICA ESPAÑOLA DURANTE LA EPOCA COLONIAL. Con un apéndice sobre la Industria del Hierro en México desde la iniciación de la Independencia hasta el presente. By *Modesto Bargalló,* Professor de Químicofísica del Instituto Politécnico Nacional de México. (Mexico, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1955. Pp. 442.)

THIS is a substantial and liberally (though incompletely) documented history of mines, mining methods, and metallurgy in Spanish America during the three centuries of the colonial period. It deals with all the minerals then exploited and with every part of Spain's vast empire in the New World, but its main focus is on the precious metals in Mexico and Peru and above all on Mexican silver.

While this focus may have been sharpened somewhat by the circumstances that the author, Modesto Bargalló, though born and trained in Spain, has been living in Mexico for several years past and that his study was financed by a Mexican mining company, in the main it is justified by the facts. For one thing, these pages show that the other metals received little attention in either theory or practice during the colonial period. For example, New Spain (Mexico), like the other American dominions, continued to import almost all its iron from Spain despite the facts that it had known iron ore deposits and a few small iron works and that its consumption of iron increased greatly, not only as a result of the steady growth of mining and agriculture but also under special stimuli, such as the drainage of the Mexico City area on which 30,000 laborers were employed for four years beginning in 1607, and the church-building boom of the latter half of the seventeenth century, during which 6,000 churches were erected.

Silver and gold, on the other hand, were the lifeblood of the colonial economies, the protégés of Spanish policy, and, except for mercury, which was essential to their production, virtually the sole subjects of thought, experimentation, and writing in the field of Spanish American mining and metallurgy. By almost any criterion silver was easily the most important of these three metals; and, all things considered, Mexico merits the primacy which this book gives it over all the other dominions in the history of Spanish American silver. In volume and value of production Peru led in the early colonial period, but in the eighteenth century Mexico forged far ahead, and by the 1770's the product of a single Mexican mine, the fabulous "Valenciana," in some years exceeded that of all the Peruvian mines combined.

Mexico also takes first place in the history of mining methods, with such men as Bartolomé de Medina, the four hundredth anniversary of whose discovery of the *patio* process is celebrated by the publication of this book; Joseph Garcés y Eguía, who in 1802 published the first complete and systematic account of this process; Fausto de Elhuyar, who tried in vain to introduce the Viennese Baron von Born's method but did contribute much to Mexican mining and science in other ways; and Andrés del Río, the discoverer of a new chemical element,

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vanadium. Some of these and the other Mexican worthies celebrated by Bargalló were not natives of Mexico, but this country was at least the scene of some of their greatest achievements.

Though Mexico is featured in these pages, the rest of Spanish America is not slighted. For example, there is a long and laudatory account of the Spanish-born Peruvian priest and mining expert Alvaro Alonso Barba and his epoch-making book *Arte de los metales* (1640); Peru's two most famous colonial mines, Potosí (silver) and Huancavelica (mercury), are discussed at length and all its lesser mines more briefly; and the gold mines of New Granada (modern Colombia) receive due notice. Spanish as well as Spanish American contributions to the development of mining and metallurgy are described, and the evidence produced justifies Bargalló's complaint against the failure of other nations to give the Hispanic world due credit for them.

On the debit side three items must be noted. (1) The book shows many signs of hasty composition. The author's preface explains that he had to meet a deadline (the Medina quadricentennial mentioned above), but it does not state when the work was begun. (2) The "Bibliografía" (pp. 367–401) is in fact only a collection of footnote citations; several works are cited twice or oftener, and there is no systematic arrangement. (3) The author fails to cite a considerable number of relevant studies, particularly by United States historians, including Clarence H. Haring, Earl J. Hamilton, Clement G. Motten, and the reviewer. Lohmann Villena's *Huancavelica* is cited as the last item in the bibliography, but little or no use seems to have been made of it.

These defects are particularly regrettable since the text has many important merits and the index, illustrations, and bookmaking are superior. May one hope that there will be a revised and somewhat enlarged edition?

*University of Pennsylvania* ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

LOS GREMIOS MEXICANOS: LA ORGANIZACIÓN GREMIAL EN NUEVA ESPAÑA, 1521–1861. By *Manuel Carrera Stampa*. Preface by Rafael Altamira. [Colección de estudios histórico-económicos mexicanos de la Cámara nacional de la industria de transformación.] (Mexico, D. F.: Edición y Distribución Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones. 1954. Pp. ix, 399.)

THIS study of the guilds of New Spain, by all odds the ablest yet to appear, is a contribution of unique interest. Mr. Carrera Stampa adds this significant work to his previous excellent studies of colonial Mexico.

Transplanted from sixteenth-century Spain, the *gremios* of New Spain were greatly multiplied and enlarged in the New World. The same hierarchy of workers was established; apprentices were accepted after proper assurance of purity of blood, legitimate birth, and freedom from heresy; apprentices advanced to the rank of *oficiales* (trained workmen) after rigorous tests; admittance as *maestros* was the final step. It was a system which discouraged inventiveness:

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"technical progress was regarded as treachery" says the author. Any measure to reduce costs or to speed up production was frowned upon. The ideal, as in Spain, was *la obra maestra,* the production of goods and ornaments of fine quality. In New Spain, as in Spain, the *gremios* were under the tutelage of the municipal authorities, subject to a great mass of detailed legislation, but, in actual practice, they were able to exercise considerable influence upon the municipal authorities. Into these guilds were drawn the workers in textiles, pottery, sculpture, architecture, leather, and a host of other lines; organized in the sixteenth century, they flourished until the eighteenth and finally disappeared in the nineteenth century.

The legislation covering the various grades of workers was detailed and exacting. The apprentice was required to be obedient and faithful, concerned for both practical and theoretical skill. Only when he proved himself *capaz y suficiente,* was he admitted to the rank of *oficiales.* The *maestro,* lord of his little shop, was under obligation to respect the rights of his apprentices and *oficiales,* to render sound instruction in his art or trade, and to cultivate the religious faith of his charges.

Closely allied with the *gremio* was the *cofradía gremial*—"the guild brotherhood"—"a civil association for mutual aid, organized under the shadow of the Church," dedicated to the increase of piety, the moral and material well-being of living members, and the eternal peace of the dead. Almost every *gremio* had its *cofradía,* its patron saint, and its own chapel. Their program of mutual aid was extensive; the author cites nineteenth-century contracts with pharmacists, physicians, surgeons, and midwives for the care of members of the guilds and their dependents.

The *gremio* finally fell under the impact of industrialized Europe. By the end of the eighteenth century there was clamor for freedom of choice in the arts and trades. The Mexican Constitution of 1824 incorporated the principle of free and equal civil rights. The reform laws of the 1850's reinforced these rights, and the *gremios* were done for.

*Claremont Graduate School and Pomona College* HUBERT HERRING

THE LAST OF THE CONQUISTADORS: JUNÍPERO SERRA (1713–1784). By *Omer Englebert.* Translated from the French by *Katherine Woods.* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1956. Pp. ix, 368. $6.00.)

WHEN the publishers of a biography announce it as "the first complete and authoritative biography" on the subject, the historian's interest is immediately aroused. In this present case, the historian is doomed to a degree of disappointment. *The Last of the Conquistadors* is an entertaining and informative biography, written sympathetically by a professional biographer, and, although almost entirely devoid of footnotes, is evidently based upon good documentation; it is, however, scarcely authoritative.

The author recounts the familiar story of the successful attempt by Spain and

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by the Franciscan friars of the Apostolic College of San Fernando to construct a presidio-mission bulwark against the Russian advance into Upper California. He carries the story through the founding of nine missions by Padre Serra in the years 1769–1784.

Père Omer Englebert, the author, is a French diocesan priest, and not, as the dust cover states, a "Franciscan like Junípero Serra." One would have liked to examine the original French edition, published in Paris in 1956. Infelicitous expressions abound in the English translation, e.g., "minister" for missionary or padre, "redskins" for Indians, "free priests" for diocesan priests. The Catholic dioceses of Fresno and San Francisco are said to possess "Episcopalian Chanceries."

The historian acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of early California will question the frequent use of quotation marks to indicate dramatic words and paragraphs that do not appear in the writings of Serra. It is unfortunate that the author was not able to use the four-volume Spanish-English edition of the *Writings of Junípero Serra,* two volumes of which were published in 1955–1956 by the Academy of American Franciscan History. Père Englebert merely mentions (and never quotes from) the extensive biography by Charles J. G. M. Piette, O.F.M., entitled *Le Secret de Junípero Serra, fondateur de la Californie-Nouvelle, 1769–1784* (2 vols.; Washington, D. C., 1949), although he presumably made considerable use of this work, the only one which, until then, contained copies or extracts (translated into French) of most of the letters and writings of Serra patiently collected over a period of years by many hands. But the author goes beyond Piette in seeming to belittle Serra's adversaries, churchmen and seculars, by representing them as uniformly petty and scheming individuals. Despite the above remarks, this reviewer has nothing but praise for the attractive and dramatic portrayal given by Fr. Englebert of the personality and achievements of the saintly Father Serra, who, in his own way, may justly be called the last of the conquistadors.

*Academy of American Franciscan History* MATHIAS C. KIEMEN

FUENTES PARA LA HISTORIA DE LA REVOLUCIÓN MEXICANA. Volume II, LA CARICATURA POLÍTICA. Prólogo, estudios y notas de *Manuel González Ramírez,* con un proemio de *Sergio Fernández.* (Mexico, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1955. Pp. xlii, 143, 501 illustrations.)

THIS valuable collection of Mexican political cartoons covers the first two decades of the twentieth century. A forty-page prologue relates the cartoonist's craft to other forms of satire, burlesque, and art in Mexico and abroad. The illustrations as a group eschew detail and usually select special features of their victims—a nose, habitual garb, an identifying deformity, or even an idea—to characterize the whole. Thus the "equilibrium of the unstable [equilibrio del desequilibrio]" became a kind of general theme.

Weapons employed included appeals to religious affiliations, respect for the

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Constitution, and hatred of dictatorship or predatory wealth. At least by implication, ideals were being prostituted; good was victimized by evil. Not surprisingly, the long-recognized solace of religion invited an excessive use of saints, devils, and churchly allusions. Particularly was this the case when the appeal was to an embittered and scarcely literate population grown cynical from abuse and hardships.

The editor has grouped 501 selected cartoons (practically all of them full-page in size) by subject matter, interspersed with a hundred pages of commentary. Personalities predominate. Porfirio Díaz was the murderer of the Constitution or was jeered by a laughing peon as, tottering on the crutches of "clericalism" and "militarism," the old dictator descended creaking and rotten stairs, each step downward labeled with the number of the old man's successive re-elections (see front cover and no. 42). Similarly Francisco Madero was lampooned as a dictator or as a blundering watchmaker who had completed a repair job only to have numerous bits of the mechanism, labeled "banditry," "ambition of usurpers," etc., left over (no. 207); and Victoriano Huerta was attacked for militarism.

The author's effort at balance is shown in his ten-page introduction to forty-one cartoons attacking the United States. He notes that the economic imperialism so bitterly assailed by the cartoonists was the joint product of economic expansionism from north of the Río Grande and of the desire of Porfirianism for foreign investments (see pp. 67 and 72 of text). Throughout the series Uncle Sam menaced Mexico with his money bags or his military power.

The author-editor is to be commended for a valuable checklist of personalities and for pertinent explanatory notes giving data for each cartoon reproduced. He has also made an effort to identify a number of the anonymous cartoonists of his country. This is valuable, for these men helped to make a nation's history though perforce they were at the time nameless, literally for fear of a firing squad. The collection is apparently a good cross section of Mexican political criticism of a vital period though other compilers might disagree with the selections made. Certainly it comprises a valuable insight into national mores and will be a handy tool for historical workers for many years to come.

*University of South Carolina* W. H. Callcott

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# * * * Other Recent Publications * * *

## General History

THE ACCEPTANCE OF HISTORIES: TOWARD A PERSPECTIVE FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE. By *Kenneth E. Bock*. [University of California Publications in Sociology and Social Institutions, Volume III, No. 1.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1956, pp. 132, $1.75.) To the increasing concern among contemporary historians over the relation of "history" and "social science" this study brings some bold and clear writing from the other side of the fence—from a social scientist arguing well that generalizations about social processes must rest on careful comparative examination of the appropriate historical materials; that they depend on "the acceptance of histories." Following a review of "The Nineteenth-Century Science of History" and the persisting "Heritage of Assumption," it presents in a final chapter its conclusions that histories, in the plural, form the context within which social science must develop. The author carefully separates the problem of searching for regularities in specific historical occurrences from two main sources of confusion in our present heritage: (1) from the misleading legacy of the nineteenth-century evolutionists (Comte, Spencer, Mill, etc.) who sought to formulate cosmic laws of social development on organic or mechanical analogies, "without the disciplined use of historical records"; and, on the other hand, (2) from the customary practice of narrative historians who "take as their special task the writing down of . . . the individual and unique aspects of the doings of particular peoples." "There is little point in telling them that they should classify their materials, search for regularities, organize their data along explicit theoretical lines, or formulate generalizations . . . because historians of this persuasion have made it clear that they are doing something quite different." The proper recourse for anyone dissatisfied with what they are doing is to insist that there are two ways of conceiving experience, one of which focuses attention on the concrete, the other using the records of "specific happenings, identified as to time and place, as material that can yield to generalization." Only through the systematic study of more than one sequence of parallel occurrences—such as the formation of a mob—can testable generalizations about human social life be reached. Hence the necessity to view history as plural, to compare many histories of particular series of events to find "what kinds of happenings have been significantly associated with what other kinds of happenings in the experiences of men."

JOHN E. SAWYER, *Yale University*

STUDIES IN JEWISH HISTORY: THE ADOLPH BÜCHLER MEMORIAL VOLUME. Edited by *I. Brodie* and *J. Rabbinowitz*. [Jews' College Publications, New Series, No. 1.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. xxx, 356, $8.00.) Adolph Büchler, famed Hebrew scholar and historian, was principal of Jews' College, London, from 1909 to his death in 1939 and was best known for his research into Jewish law and ceremonial in the first three centuries of our era. The present volume, edited by Chief Rabbi I. Brodie and Professor Rabbinowitz, of England, gathers a number of his articles from *Festschriften* and periodicals, all of them penetratingly and persuasively written and nicely translated from the German, and, in one case, from the French. Topics of the first (English) section include: "The Priestly Dues and the Roman Taxes in the Edicts of Caesar"; "On the History of Temple Worship"; "On the Provisioning of Jerusalem before the Year 70"; "Family Purity



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and Impurity in Jerusalem before the Year 70"; "The Jewish Betrothal and the Position of a Woman Betrothed to a Priest in the 1st and 2nd Centuries"; "The Conspiracy of R. Nathan and R. Meier against the Patriarch Simon ben Gamaliel"; "The Patriarch R. Judah I and the Graeco-Roman Cities of Palestine"; "The *Minim* [non-Jewish sectaries, according to Büchler] of Sepphoris and Tiberias in the 2nd and 3rd Centuries." A second section contains three essays printed in Hebrew which concern tithing, a speech on "The Disinheritance of the Son by his Father," and a commentary on the place of women in the apocryphal book of Judith. Dr. Isidore Epstein has written a brief life of Büchler, "The Man and the Scholar." There is a bibliography of Büchler's works with reference to their several original publications. His most famous work, *Das Synedrion in Jerusalem und das grosse Beth-Din in der Quaderkammer des jerusalemischen Tempels* (Vienna, 1902), established the difference between the Sanhedrin as a political body (and thus the object of various pressures) and a hitherto unremarked Beth-Din or great court of justice in Jerusalem. This essay is not included here, perhaps because of length. There is an index of proper names. The volume opens many new vistas into the life of the early Middle Ages and the Near East; it is good to have the studies readily available in so fine a format.

ALLEN DUPONT BRECK, *University of Denver*

DE PRAEDA MILITARI: LOOTING AND BOOTY, 1500–1815. By *Fritz Redlich,* Harvard University. [Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte, Nr. 39.] (Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, 1956, pp. ix, 79.) War at best is destructive and disorderly. Masses of men removed from familiar restraints, often engaged in destroying property of "the enemy," and certainly in destroying its protections of law and police, succumb readily to the opportunities of liberating valuables of a portable character. The practice of fighting groups has varied considerably through world history and in particular through European history, culminating in a way in World War II. Its historical development has been marked by three major changes. In the first place, Christianity, especially in the form of chivalry, supplied moral restraints, partly incorporated into laws, that like our amateur athletic codes were honored as much in the breach as in the observance. Secondly, the enlargement of the war function ended the earlier necessity (and possibility) of living off the country by the development of services of supply. Finally, the growth of the state and the intensification of its mercantilist sensibility involved an enlargement of the whole concept of looting to include appropriation of productive systems and instrumentalities, cultural materials, and even historical archives by the states themselves. At the same time, the increasing disciplinary power of the state restricted the range of the potential looters and for military and political reasons imposed on the soldier a bind of law. In this monograph, as a part of a larger study in process on military entrepreneurship, Fritz Redlich undertakes to establish historically the process in European history "by which looting as an established institution was first regulated and then more or less abandoned" (p. 78). In a very extensive exploration of sources and literature, he makes an effective picture of usages, regulations, and laws as they developed through the centuries down to the nineteenth. He is aware that much looting took place later, "but then it was strictly contra legem" (preface). This little point illustrates much of the limitations of the essay. The author's larger purpose, the history of military entrepreneurship, seems to involve some account of the closely correlated processes, the complication of economic society, and the increasing economic involvement of the state. In short, looting got to be too good to be left to the soldier. On the whole, Redlich has brought some order into a subject inherently disordered and hitherto wholly neglected as history. In view of his ultimate economic purpose, it may be questioned whether he is justified in speak-

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ing of "looting on the wane." Between the Spanish looting of Antwerp and the Dutch closing of the Scheldt is a less than absolute distinction. The legal conceptions seem to be derived rather from the important seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources than from the modern jurists. Looting was an area in which, as in others, law evolved from a limited and personal basis to an authoritarian and generalized form. Redlich's use of *Simplicissimus* as a dependable source is hardly warranted in view of recent criticism. Nevertheless, the rich aggregation of data which he has gathered gives promise of significant results when he gets on with his study of military entrepreneurship. F. L. NUSSBAUM, *University of Wyoming*

WILDERNESS CHRISTIANS: THE MORAVIAN MISSION TO THE DELAWARE INDIANS. By *Elma E. Gray,* in collaboration with *Leslie Robb Gray.* (Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 1956, pp. xi, 354, $5.00.) Essentially this is the story of the two Indian missions—Fairfield and New Fairfield—maintained on the Thames River in Ontario by the Moravian Church from 1792 to 1902. But the volume contains much more than that: it traces the history of the Moravians from their arrival in Georgia in 1735 and the history of their activities among the American Indians from 1740, when Christian Henry Rauch was stationed with the Mohicans at Shekomeko in New York. Across the pages of this book walk the notable leaders and missionaries of the church—Count Zinzendorf, David Zeisberger, Christian Frederick Post, John Heckewelder, John Ettwein, Michael Jung, John Schnall, Gottlob Sensemann, Christian Frederick Denke, Abraham Luckenbach, and numerous others. With them are their remarkable wives, whose contributions to the missions were also noteworthy. There are also important figures among the Delawares, such as Teedyuscung, Schebosch, Glikhican, Netawatwees, White Eyes, Tobias, and Timothy. The work of the early missionaries of the eighteenth century and the first fifteen years of the nineteenth seems to have been more effective upon their charges and more influential in the regions of the missions than the efforts of the later missionaries. The authors carefully analyze the pressures upon the missionaries and the Indians in their various missions, and move the missions from spot to spot in Pennsylvania, into the Muskingum Valley and later the Sandusky Valley in Ohio, into Michigan, back to Pilgerruh and New Salem in Ohio, and finally to Fairfield on the Thames. While the book outlines the missionary training of the church, the philosophy and aims of the mission activities, and the administrations of the missionaries, the important contribution is perhaps the detailed sociological analysis of the everyday life of the Indians in the mission villages. Not only are their habits and customs described but also their occupations, skills, crafts, the tools and implements they used, the houses they lived in, the clothes they wore, and the food they ate. Of significance, too, is the treatment of the effects upon the Indian converts of wars, from the Revolution through the War of 1812, of Indians and whites who settled near them, and of the advance of civilization. The authors have made full use of the wonderful collection of missionary diaries, reports, and letters in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. They also had the benefit of the archaeological studies of Old Fairfield by Wilfrid Jury, of the Museum of Indian Archaeology of the University of Western Ontario. The authors show a decided inclination to sympathize with the church's and the missionaries' aims and methods in administering the missions and otherwise dealing with the Indians.

JAMES H. RODABAUGH, *Ohio Historical Society*

AMERICA'S SIBERIAN EXPEDITION, 1918–1920: A STUDY OF NATIONAL POLICY. By *Betty Miller Unterberger.* (Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1956, pp. 271, $7.50.) This workmanlike study of one of the most confused episodes in modern

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diplomatic history performs a distinct service to scholarship. Heavily documented and temperately written throughout, it traces the evolution of America's role in the Siberian intervention of 1918–1920 from the hatching in mid-1917 of Anglo-French-Japanese plans for a rehabilitation of the Russian front to the Washington Conference and the termination of the Inter-Allied Railway Agreement in 1922. Mrs. Unterberger's book offers a much fuller treatment of United States policy than does John A. White's *The Siberian Intervention* (1950); it is more searching and more objective than Clarence A. Manning's *The Siberian Fiasco* (1952). With meticulous detail, the author drives home the fact that President Wilson agreed to the intervention only after he was convinced that Japan would send an independent expedition if he did not forestall such action by inviting the Japanese to participate in a joint undertaking. Wilson did not even pretend to emulate French and British statesmen in viewing the effort as a means of re-establishing an eastern front against Germany. His avowed objectives were to succor the embattled Czech Legion and to offer the Russian people "such aid as shall be acceptable . . . in their endeavor to regain control of their own affairs, their own territory, and their own destiny." His "basic and unpublicized reason . . . was to restrain Japan from imperialistic adventures and to preserve the open door in Siberia and North Manchuria." Although Mrs. Unterberger makes it perfectly clear that the State Department and the War Department worked at cross-purposes with each other while Wilson worked at cross-purposes with the Allies, she concludes that the United States did impose a worth-while, if temporary, curb upon Japanese ambitions. It seems unlikely that a more painstaking and convincing analysis of this question will be written for many years.

DONALD F. DRUMMOND, *University of Michigan*

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, 1919–1943: DOCUMENTS. Volume I, 1919–1922. Selected and edited by *Jane Degras.* [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. xvi, 463, $8.80.) The history of the Comintern constitutes a large gap in the study of Soviet foreign policy as well as of national Communist parties between the two world wars. The Royal Institute of International Affairs has undertaken to help bridge it with the publication of documents of the Third International, of which the first volume has now appeared. The materials have been carefully edited by Miss Jane Degras, of whom one has come to expect such expert work on the basis of her *Soviet Documents on Foreign Policy,* which the new series complements. The present volume covers the first four years of the Comintern—a crucial period involving problems of organization, contests with other Marxist parties and the Socialist International, and the struggle over the autonomy of the several member parties. Compared with later years, this was the "heroic" era, when Comintern members were still frank in the exposition of their goals and when substantial arguments took place in public. If there were ample naiveté and idealism, there were also cunning and demagogy. Even in the earliest pronouncements one senses the tactical flexibility and the bitterness of factional strife which characterized the subsequent activities of the Comintern. The documents, presented chronologically, include all the important programmatic pronouncements of the period, as well as some statements on current affairs, exchanges with individual national Communist parties, and resolutions on the struggle for the control of the labor movement. It goes without saying that some of the most important Comintern documents have never been made public. As a result, the reader remains ill-informed about Soviet manipulation and financing; about the use of the International for other than its avowed aims; and about some of the backstairs conflicts concerning its work. For the purposes of this series, "documents" include only statements

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by the International itself and its publications. Hence the collection includes neither memoirs nor journalistic reports on the Comintern. By way of compensation, each document is supplied with an excellent introduction explaining its context and significance. A bibliography is provided, though additional references would have been welcome. One looks forward to the remaining volumes in the hope that the series will stimulate monographs of equally high standards of scholarship.

ALEXANDER DALLIN, *Columbia University*

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1939. In five volumes. Volume I, GENERAL. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1956, pp. viii, 1059, $4.50.) This volume deals mainly (401 pp.) with the outbreak of the Second World War, and its value to historians will lie in its detailed reporting of conversations, rumors, newspaper comment, and public opinion in the various European countries during the months before the catastrophe. There also is miscellaneous material on the early phases of the war (172 pp.), repatriation of Americans and others from belligerent countries (82 pp.), the neutrality policy of the United States (61 pp.), control of commerce by belligerent governments (131 pp.), and American concern over Soviet demands on Finland and outbreak of the Winter War (89 pp.). There is a selection of documents on American attempts to stockpile raw materials (104 pp.); the United States even in the fatal year 1939 negotiated tediously with the Netherlands-British rubber cartel to increase rubber production and sales. Of particular interest is American diplomatic reporting (118 pp.) on the competitive Anglo-French and German negotiations in the summer of 1939 for a political agreement with Russia; it is plain, once more, that the Poles refused to allow any agreement for Soviet troops to cross Polish territory in event of German attack, but no further light appears on whether the Russians were sincere in making this Polish refusal a basis for the pact with Germany. There is a brilliant dispatch of August 22 by Ambassador Bullitt, relating a conversation with Daladier and Léger in which the two French officials described France's "tragic and terrible situation" after the Russo-German agreement, and forecast accurately the course of events in Europe and the world over the next few months and years. This volume of American documents shows no American diplomatic policy toward Europe in 1939, and almost no *démarches* of any sort, other than the messages by President Roosevelt, of April and August, asking for preservation of peace.

ROBERT H. FERRELL, *Indiana University*

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## Ancient History

*T. Robert S. Broughton*[1]

PIECING TOGETHER THE PAST: THE INTERPRETATION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA. By *V. Gordon Childe.* (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1956, Pp. vii, 176, $3.95.) The author based this book upon a lecture course dealing with "the principles of archaeological classification, the current terminology and the implicit interpretative concepts" (p. v). The idea is a good one, since several excavation manuals have recently been published but little has been done to analyze the theoretical and philosophical aspects of the archaeological pursuit. The author endeavors to state the case clearly, although the terminological aspect is especially difficult and so controversial that it can be presented only in a critical way with manifold references and examples. The resulting exposition is challenging but hardly meant for the beginner. It is important to notice that V. G. Childe restricts his analysis almost entirely to prehistoric archaeology (p. vi). In the preface a universal validity of the prehistoric concepts and methods is claimed for any branch of interpretative archaeology, but archaeologists working with literate or potentially literate, or again with artistically articulate material, profess a methodology different from what is offered by Childe as an outline for piecing together the past. His analytic scheme presented on pages 129–31 would be applicable but inadequate in the case of historic archaeology—cf. the heading "Artistic" under which the total listing is (a) graphic arts; (b) musical instruments; (c) personal adornments, including wigs, razors, tweezers, bathtubs. The student of history will question Childe's use of the term "historian" (p. 1: the archaeologist is said to become a historian in so far as he can reconstitute human behavior and recapture the thoughts that behavior expressed). The book is an important record of the theoretical position of one of the world's foremost prehistorians. The archaeologist as an art-historian and the archaeologist as a discoverer of the historical past will have to furnish their own accounts of the interpretation of archaeological data; and the final synthesis will be essentially different from the one presented here under perhaps too general a title. MACHTELD J. MELLINK, *Bryn Mawr College*

THE BABYLONIAN LAWS. Volume II, TRANSLITERATED TEXT, TRANSLATION, PHILOLOGICAL NOTES, GLOSSARY. Edited with Translation and Commentary by *G. R. Driver* and *John C. Miles.* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. vii, 426, $10.10.) The editors of the present volume began their collaboration with *The Assyrian Laws,* which appeared in 1935. The companion work on the corresponding Babylonian material, which they projected at that time, had to be broken up into two separate volumes. The first of these, containing the legal com-

[1] Responsible only for the list of articles.

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mentary, was published in 1952, to be followed three years later by the book before us, which presents the transliterated text, with translation, philological notes, and glossary. In each instance, the juridical side of the joint enterprise has been handled with excellent results by Sir John C. Miles, whose competence, experience, and devotion helped to make of the initial volume of *The Babylonian Laws* a contribution that should remain standard for many years to come. As the philologist of the team, Professor Driver is primarily responsible for the concluding part. By far the largest section of the book is given over to the Laws of Hammurabi. Although several older collections are now known, none compares with the celebrated "code" of Hammurabi in scope, degree of completeness, precision, and beauty of expression. This material has by now had the benefit of more than fifty years of minute and intensive study. Nevertheless, it still poses its quota of linguistic and substantive problems. Driver is well versed in Akkadian, the language used by Hammurabi with classic effect, and he is also at home in other Semitic languages. He has covered the large and unwieldy literature on the subject with thoroughness and care. But the results cannot be regarded as wholly satisfactory by modern standards. Too much attention is devoted to comparative etymologies and to the meanings which a given word may have in various other contexts. All this adds needlessly to the bulk of the book, without shedding light on the passage in question; indeed, far too often the discursive treatment serves only to distract and even mislead the reader. The etymologies, aside from being irrelevant, are in a number of instances demonstrably wrong as well. In short, the book may be said to suffer from misplaced emphasis. Yet its flaws are outweighed by the extent of its coverage and its wealth of references to the literature on the subject.

E. A. Speiser, *University of Pennsylvania*

ESSAI SUR LA MÉDECINE EGYPTIENNE DE L'ÉPOQUE PHARAONIQUE. By *Gustave Lefebvre,* Membre de l'Institut. [Ouvrage publié avec le concours du Centre national de la recherche scientifique.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1956, pp. xii, 216, 1,200 fr.) There is an excellent recent discussion of Egyptian medicine in the first volume of Sigerist's *History of Medicine,* strangely enough not mentioned by this author, but otherwise no attempt before this book has been made to synthesize in a monograph the numerous detailed findings of the last thirty years concerning Egyptian medicine. It thus definitely fills a gap, and it does it quite well. Mr. Lefebvre deals but briefly with the problems which have been particularly attractive to recent authors, like the relations between magic and scientific elements in Egyptian medicine, and the organization of medical service. He discusses in more detail the very rudimentary anatomical and physiological knowledge of the Egyptians which explains many of the absurdities in the clinical passages of the papyri. The bulk of his book is a description of the actual and sometimes quite amazing knowledge of the Egyptians concerning the diseases of the eye, teeth, female organs, lung, stomach, bladder, and traumatic surgery. With equal skill and knowledge he analyzes their therapeutic procedures, especially their druglore and prescriptions. With care he compares (mostly in footnotes; the text remains very readable) the different possibilities of translating obscure Egyptian terms for organs or drugs and usually offers solutions which are satisfactory through their moderation, a virtue not always practiced by enthusiasts in this field. This is an interesting, useful, and competent short monograph.

Erwin H. Ackerknecht, *University of Wisconsin*

FROM ALEXANDER TO CONSTANTINE: PASSAGES AND DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IDEAS, 336 B.C.–A.D. 337. Translated with Introductions, Notes, and Essays by *Ernest Barker,* Honorary Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and of Peterhouse, Cambridge. (New York,

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Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. xxiv, 505, $8.00.) This is a source book of a very unusual kind. It includes selections from Hellenistic and Roman, Greek and Latin, pagan and Jewish and Christian sources. At the same time it is more than a source book. The editor has added much valuable information in introductions to the various sections and selections and in notes. To use his own words, besides "assembling stones" he has also provided "some sort of mortar" (p. ix), and he has done this so successfully that he has actually produced a connected account of the history of the social and political ideas of the period. For this task no one is better qualified than Sir Ernest Barker. His *Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle* appeared in 1906. A revision of the first part was put out in 1918 under the title *Greek Political Theory: Plato and His Predecessors.* The projected second volume never appeared. The author, meanwhile, was occupied with almost all sorts of political theories other than Greek. Finally, however, there came instead his invaluable translation—a virtual edition—of Aristotle's *Politics* and the work now under review. He thus possesses an unequaled acquaintance not only with ancient but also with modern political theories. The reader must not, on the other hand, look for the kind of knowledge of ancient history that is gained by lifetime study of inscriptions and papyri, a kind of study which at times also reveals aspects of theory and thought not to be found in the literary sources. It may also be noted that economic thought is not treated quite as adequately as philosophy, religious thought, theories of law, and theories of government. Continuity of thought and the relationship between the various intellectual movements of the long period covered are admirably demonstrated. At times the emphasis on continuity may tend to obscure other aspects. Thus, the connection between Hellenistic theories of kingship and later theories of the good prince seems to have caused the theory of the principate to be slighted. On this point the inclusion of Galba's speech at the time of the adoption of Piso as given by Tacitus (*Histories* 1. 15-16) would have helped. Yet, all in all, there probably is no other single volume of comparable scope from which readers, both less advanced students and scholars, can learn as much as from this.

J. A. O. Larsen, *University of Chicago*

CAESAR AS MAN OF LETTERS. By *F. E. Adcock.* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1956, pp. x, 115, $2.00.) The object of this small volume is to emphasize the literary character of Caesar's surviving works. In order to arrive at a fair estimate of his literary ability the author first briefly reviews Caesar's career as a statesman and a soldier. In examining the literary form of the *Commentaries,* Sir Frank finds that Caesar's works do not conform exactly to the standard convention of the *Commentarius* and hence their literary value must be judged by other standards. The purpose, and content, of the *De bello Gallico,* the author feels, contrary to popular opinion, can be regarded in only a very limited sense as being that of propaganda. "The Military Man" examines Caesar's literary interpretation of war as an exercise of the mind as well as his concept of generalship. Caesar's literary style, it is true, is not without considerable merit. Nevertheless, this study shows that the *Commentaries* alone are not enough to establish Julius Caesar as a great literary figure. The book concludes with a useful discussion of the time of the composition and publication of the *Commentaries* and the nature of the whole Caesarian corpus.

Richard H. Chowen, *University of South Carolina*

THE ROMAN MIND: STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THOUGHT FROM CICERO TO MARCUS AURELIUS. By *M. L. Clarke,* Professor of Latin in the University College of North Wales, Bangor. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1956, pp. vii, 168, $3.75.) With loving hands Mr. Clarke has constructed an urbane guide to

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the surface pattern of thought displayed in Latin (and Greek) literature of the late republic and early empire. His book may safely be recommended to beginning students of the era as a survey of the acclimation of the Greek intellectual achievement at Rome. Such students will not be led seriously astray, for his picture is clear and sensible if too brief at times to give a rounded analysis. Nor will they be led down unfamiliar lanes: the author gives almost no place to the evidence of art, inscriptions, and coins; the matter under discussion is basically the classic philosophical tradition; there are no novel twists or challenging schemes of thought to force one to think for oneself. Ancient authors are amply quoted (with English translations); the modern literature on the subject is very rarely cited. Mr. Clarke believes, as have so many others, that "the Romans did little more than reproduce Greek ideas in a different language and with at most a slightly different tone and accent." Such a view helps to explain the limitations in time and scope of his survey; as this reviewer has indicated at length in another place, he is in complete disagreement with this view.

CHESTER G. STARR, *University of Illinois*

FELIX STAEHELIN: REDEN UND VORTRÄGE. Edited by *Wilhelm Abt.* (Basel, Benno Schwabe, 1956, pp. 328, 18 S. fr.) Felix Staehelin (1873–1952), professor at Basel and president of the commission for the historical museum, is well known to classicists as the author of an excellent book entitled *Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit,* which has passed triumphantly through three editions. To his pupils and many friends in Basel he is known also as a felicitous speaker who could survey complicated problems with remarkable clarity and express himself elegantly in well-organized lectures and addresses. One of his students has collected the least accessible lectures and addresses into a well-printed book. The editor has not ventured in any way to bring the lectures up to date, but, even so, his act of piety will be useful not only for the local public but for historians. Staehelin's comments on the emperor Claudius (1933) and on pre-Roman Switzerland (1935) still retain exceptional interest and importance, though what was in 1901 a splendid survey of new papyrus discoveries has lost interest, or rather acquired an interest of a different type. The collection contains also four appreciations of deceased scholars; a radio address, "Recollections of Jacob Burckhardt"; talks on "Anti-Semitism in Antiquity" (1901), "Problems of Israelite History" (1907), "Israel in Egypt" (1908), "Phidias" (1910), "The Philistines" (1917), "Constantine the Great" (1935), "Augustus" (two speeches, 1939), "Peoples and Migrations in the Ancient East" (1942); and an address on affairs of the historical museum (1944).

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# Medieval History

*Bernard J. Holm*[1]

NOUVELLES RECHERCHES SUR L'IMPOT FONCIER ET LA CAPITATION PERSONNELLE SOUS LE BAS-EMPIRE. By *Ferdinand Lot.* [Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des hautes études, fasc. 304—Complément au fasc. 253.] (Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1955, pp. 195.) Unfortunately the late Professor Ferdinand Lot was unable to see this work through the press, and that phase of its production was accomplished by others. The book itself, however, encompasses much more than the title indicates and is the fruit of his long years of research. It is composed of nine essays on different problems relating to the economic history of late antiquity and the early medieval period. The earlier essays in the book are devoted to studies of the tax system of the empire and to the interpretation of the ancient documents. Lot had already covered much of this ground in an earlier work in the same series published in 1928, but new evidence has come to light since that day, and the works of Déléage and Seston made it incumbent upon Lot to treat it once again. In the later essays he deals with such major problems as the Roman origins of the *mansus* and the Frankish tax system, the circulation of gold during the early medieval period,

[1] Responsible only for the list of articles.

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and the supposed economic superiority of the Eastern Empire, which he attempts to refute. In his interpretation of many of the sources Lot departed radically from past scholarship, and it is evident that much that he wrote in his work will remain controversial. Great caution should therefore be observed in using this book, and all the citations should be checked. In some instances more recent research which was not available to Lot weakens several of his arguments. Nevertheless, a great scholar has suggested some new approaches to a few of the most basic problems in the economic history of the early Middle Ages, and the book is therefore an important one, but it is questionable whether Lot's conclusions will be widely accepted.

HOWARD L. ADELSON, *City College of New York*

REGESTA REGUM ANGLO-NORMANNORUM, 1066–1154. Volume II, REGESTA HENRICI PRIMI, 1100–1135. Edited by *Charles Johnson* and *H. A. Cronne,* from the Collections of the Late H. W. C. Davis. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. xlvi, 454, $16.80.) This volume will be as important for the history of the reign of Henry I as the publication of the Pipe Rolls was for the reign of Henry II, or the volumes of Chancery Rolls and Curia Regis Rolls have been for that of John. The first of the projected three volumes was published in 1913 by H. W. C. Davis, covering the period 1066–1100, and a final volume will deal with the reign of Stephen. This volume is more than the second in this series: it also, for all practical purposes, provides a long-needed revised edition of Volume I in the copious errata and addenda to its predecessor. The heart of the work consists of a calendar of the more than 1,500 surviving charters of Henry I, of which some 300 previously unpublished charters are printed in an appendix. As in the first volume, each charter calendared is annotated with references to sources and origins and with comment on authenticity, special features, and the identity of witnesses or other persons named. The charters are arranged in chronological order, so far as that can be established, and an outline itinerary is supplied, indicating where the editors have departed from the dating of Farrer's *Itinerary*. Farrer's pioneering work took account of less than half of the charters dealt with here, and the greater scope of the present work has not only made possible a more accurate chronology but also, in the indexes of persons and places, an invaluable aid for all future work on the period. The introduction provides a concise account of the central administration and its personnel, together with some interesting remarks about the light shed by charters on institutions and events of the reign. After waiting more than forty years for this volume to appear, some readers will be disappointed that the editors did not take this occasion to include a full discussion of Anglo-Norman administration and diplomatic. But, that aside, this is a monumental work magnificently produced. Its publication marks the beginning of a new stage in Anglo-Norman studies, and to it every future student of the period will be deeply indebted.

ROBERT S. HOYT, *University of Minnesota*

THEOBALD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. By *Avrom Saltman.* [University of London Historical Studies, II.] (London, University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by John de Graff, New York, 1956, pp. xvi, 594, $8.00.) It has been a happy half decade for the superficial student of the reign of Stephen and of early Henry II, particularly because of the attractive source materials that have been made available in "Nelson's Medieval Texts." Now Mr. Saltman has published a lengthy study of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, whose huge but shadowy importance emerges provocatively from any study of the period of his episcopacy (1139–1161). Theobald's household was a center of stability in the Anarchy, and it was the home of a startling number of important and brilliant men. If one looks to Mr. Saltman's book for a con-

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cise statement about the sort of man Theobald was or the sort of atmosphere that pervaded his household, one will be disappointed. In the first and general part of this sharply divided book Mr. Saltman is lengthily evasive. He stretches out his often imperceptibly relevant tangles of detail in a style that is strongly affected by a curious use of the cliché. The discussion seems conjectural rather than imaginative. The presentation is in fact so unrelentingly unreadable that it acquires a sort of perverse charm. And the reader is surprised upon finishing to find that he has in an indirect and disparate way enlarged his understanding, or at least made more subtle his confusion, about the intricate behavior of the man Theobald. He has also seen a church that needed to have Becket killed. In the second part of his book Mr. Saltman introduces his collection of beautifully printed charters. Here all is changed. Mr. Saltman's text is tense, concise, exact, informative, witty. Part II is, in short, a book to make diplomatists dance in the streets. One feels that the charters have been gone over again and again with sensitive eyes and hands—and ears. Mr. Saltman has culled the formal portions from his charters and analyzed them. It is exactly work like this, the collection of harangues, for example, that suggests the possibility of a more exciting and penetrating sort of intellectual and administrative history, one that uses the careful analysis of "Common Form" for the understanding of changing ideas. It is the sort of work that Madox attempted and for which Maitland hoped. Its value has been plainly and forcefully stated in Miss Kathleen Major's introduction to the *Acta Stephani Langton* (pp. xiv–xv). It is beside that closely related edition that Mr. Saltman's Part II should stand. ROBERT BRENTANO, *University of California, Berkeley*

THE LETTERS OF JOHN OF SALISBURY. Volume I, THE EARLY LETTERS (1153–1161). Edited by *W. J. Millor, S.J.* and *H. E. Butler.* Revised by *C. N. L. Brooke.* (Edinburgh, Thomas Nelson and Sons; New York, Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. lxvii, 296, $8.00.) John of Salisbury is a master figure of the twelfth century: both as an ecclesiastical statesman and a Christian humanist, he represents the best in the act and thought of his age. If not a profound or systematic philosopher, he had insight into character, sound judgment, and, above all, genius for writing. His style bears comparison with the classics he knew so thoroughly. His works are indeed "medieval classics," found in numerous manuscripts, edited and re-edited. With the completion of the letters now in the press, all his major works will have been re-edited in this century and, what is more, presented in English translation for all to read. This is a rare distinction for a twelfth-century writer, but John of Salisbury is worth reading. The present volume is the first of three which will provide a definitive text and translation of his letters. The early letters published here form a homogeneous collection written while John was private secretary to Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury. Mostly in Theobald's name, they are of the greatest interest for the history of ecclesiastical politics and of canon law. John's own letters to his friends display his attractive humanism. Mr. Brooke's introduction deals perceptively with these and other aspects of the letters and of John's career. The extensive annotation shows a wide learning, though much necessarily remains conjectural and the dates given some of the letters are doubtful. The new edition is particularly welcome since the earlier editions of the letters were notoriously bad; it will not soon be superseded. The translation, finally, is a work of merit; authoritative and facile, its scholarship will make it useful as a gloss, its smoothness will be attractive to every reader.

FRED A. CAZEL, JR., *University of Connecticut*

DIE REICHSGESETZE VON 1220, 1231/32 UND 1235: IHR WERDEN UND IHRE WIRKUNG IM DEUTSCHEN STAAT FRIEDRICHS II. By *Erich Klingelhöfer.*

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[Quellen und Studien zur Verfassungsgeschichte des Deutschen Reiches in Mittelalter und Neuzeit, Band VIII, Heft 2.] (Weimar, Hermann Böhlau, 1955, pp. xxiii, 239, DM 15.60.) This book is concerned primarily with the *Confoederatio cum principibus ecclesiasticis,* a covenant between Frederick II and the spiritual princes, April 26, 1220; the *Statutum in favorem principum,* originally granted by Henry VII at Worms on May 1, 1231, and confirmed by Frederick II in May, 1232; and the *Constitutio pacis* of August 15, 1235. Necessarily also, the author has brought into perspective with these the so-called "Golden Bull of Eger," the promises made by Frederick II to the Roman Church on July 12, 1213; and the *Constitutio in Basilica Beati Petri* referred to as the "Coronation Laws of Frederick II" of November 22, 1220. Moreover, in so far as they are related to the *Constitutio pacis* of Mainz, he deals with Henry VII's *Pax generalis* of July, 1224, and the *Constitutio generalis de judiciis et de pace tenenda* of February 11, 1234. The chief merit of the work is not so much in its originality as in its usefulness as a critical evaluation and synthesis of contributions which German historians have recently made to the interpretation of the *Fürstenpriviligien.* In this respect it is suggestive of the reorientation made accessible to English readers by Barraclough in his *Mediaeval Germany.* The author holds firmly to the view that Frederick aspired to be not merely *Territorialherrscher* but actual king in the Reich and that he was not diverted from this aim by the critical circumstances under which the privileges were wrested from him. The author's close inquiry into the origin of individual clauses amply justifies the conclusion that few new concessions were actually made in the *Confoederati* and that these, as well as the confirmation of old customary laws, were the necessary purchase price for Henry VII's election as German king. Even more important is the reorientation away from the Böhmer interpretation of the *Statutum,* widely accepted since 1849, as a "surrender of royal rights" and from the oft-repeated dictum of Blondel (Frederick II, p. 199) that *"le sol* même de l'Allemagne passe de la souveraineté du roi à celle des princes." The author has illustrated abundantly the dangers of broad generalizations, extreme views, and dogmatic appraisals of Frederick II's German policies, and he leaves little doubt in the mind of the reader that a more realistic interpretation of these policies is long overdue. If he has suggested the direction of this reorientation, it is in his conception of Frederick II as the "Realpolitiker des Mittelalters," ever alert to what, at a given moment, was possible or impossible, whose policies, whether German or Italian, emanated from his aim at "cäsarischen Absolutismus."

THOMAS C. VAN CLEVE, *Bowdoin College*

URKUNDENBUCH ZUR GESCHICHTE DER BABENBERGER IN ÖSTERREICH. Band II, DIE SIEGELURKUNDEN DER BABENBERGER UND IHRER NACHKOMMEN VON 1216 BIS 1279. Vorbereitet von *Oskar Frh. v. Mitis.* Bearbeitet von *Heinrich Fichtenau* und *Erich Zöllner.* [Publikationen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 3. Reihe.] (Vienna, Adolf Holzhausen, 1955, pp. 460, Sch. 255.) This is the second of five projected volumes planned to include the *Urkunden* of the Babenbergers and their descendants in Austria. The present volume carries the work forward to October 22, 1279, the date of issue of a document of Count Ulrich von Heunburg and his spouse Agnes, daughter of Markgraf Hermann von Baden and the duchess Gertrud, renouncing all sovereign claims to the Babenberger lands. Like the first volume (Vienna, 1950), the second includes the *Siegelurkunden,* i.e., documents actually bearing the Babenberger seal, although a final section of the work (nos. 467–547) includes also the so-called "verlorene" *Siegelurkunden.* Here, however, only such *deperdita* are included as reveal clear evidence of having once borne the Babenberger seal. Although the chronological arrangement and the general editing are the work

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of E. Zöllner and H. Fichtenau, the book rests firmly upon a foundation erected during a half century of research by O. Freiherr von Mitis, whose *Studien zum älteren österreischischen Urkundenweisen* (Vienna, 1912), is an indispensable guide to documentary research. It is perhaps to be expected that a scholarly undertaking, first projected some 143 years ago by Hormayr and Metternich, and several times essayed since that time, should at last be realized as an exemplary achievement. For in addition to the distinguished editing of the documentary texts, the preparation of the index and glossary, carried forward in this volume by Frau Martha Szaivert and P. Uiblein respectively, maintains the exceptionally high standard set in Volume I by Willy Szaivert and E. Lindeck Pozza. The format of the volume, one of the outstanding features, is modeled upon that of the *Monumenta Germaniae historica.*

THOMAS C. VAN CLEVE, *Bowdoin College*

STUDENT LIFE IN AVE MARIA COLLEGE, MEDIAEVAL PARIS: HISTORY AND CHARTULARY OF THE COLLEGE. By *Astrik L. Gabriel,* Director of the Mediaeval Institute, University of Notre Dame. [Publications in Mediaeval Studies, University of Notre Dame, Volume XIV.] (Notre Dame, Ind., University of Notre Dame Press, 1955, pp. xviii, 460, $6.75.) Ave Maria College at Paris was a small college for six students between eight and sixteen years old. John of Hubant founded it in 1336 and drew up its fundamental statutes ten years later; Peter d'Ailly reformed it in 1387 and added a few new statutes. Notable in the later history of the college was the revival under the mastership of Philip Boisot in the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1763 Louis XV ordered that Ave Maria, along with other minor colleges, be merged into the College of Louis-le-Grand, a merger completed in 1769. Canon Gabriel's publication of the chartulary of Ave Maria College, together with his illuminating history of the college during its medieval period, has made available an important source for educational and intellectual history. Particular mention may be made of chapter IX, dealing with the miniatures illustrating the statutes of John of Hubant (plates XIV–XXIII); these make a unique contribution to our knowledge of fourteenth-century college life. F. EDWARD CRANZ, *Connecticut College*

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## Modern European History

### BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

*Leland H. Carlson*[1]

THOMAS CRANMER, THEOLOGIAN. By *G. W. Bromiley.* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. xxviii, 108, $3.25.) Dr. Bromiley has written a thin little

[1] Responsible only for the list of articles.

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volume—thin in size but not in importance, for it is a model of condensation and clarity not often achieved in religious scholarship. Thomas Cranmer is depicted as a fine scholar in the fullest and best sense of the word. For the author, Cranmer was the father of Anglican theology, which was stamped with the archbishop's balanced and humane approach to the problems of his age. Though never a creative thinker, Cranmer was neither a mere defender nor a parrot of the more original theologians on the Continent. Admittedly he drew his inspiration from others, but his comprehension, his style, and above all his sense of proportion saved Anglican doctrine from the brittle dogmatism of European theology. The source of his influence lay in his scholarship, which was grounded not merely upon a profound knowledge of Scripture but equally upon a deep understanding of the church fathers and tradition. And although his learning may have resulted in overcaution and conservatism, it was, says Dr. Bromiley, "no small thing to give so plain and satisfying and yet also so warm and inspiriting a presentation" (p. 41). Possibly only one criticism can be made, and that is more a warning to the reader than a condemnation of the author. At times, Dr. Bromiley gives the appearance of more logic, clarity, and deliberation than actually existed in Cranmer's mind. In life the archbishop was something of a reed bending with the political and theological winds. His was a slow, even tortuous, evolution. What finally emerged was harmonious and beautiful, but its clarity and logic may in reality exist more in Dr. Bromiley's fine exposition than in Cranmer's own works. The book is undoubtedly an apologia of Thomas Cranmer, but it is also a concise and intelligible statement of the essence of Reformation theology for which the historian will be deeply grateful.

LACEY BALDWIN SMITH, *Northwestern University*

TUDOR AND STUART LINCOLN. By *J. W. F. Hill.* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1956, pp. xiv, 254, $6.00.) Designed to be of use to the historian as well as to the friends of Lincoln, Mr. Hill's study of Tudor and Stuart Lincoln is a useful miscellany of people, local problems, and events in that isolated and economically declining city of the fens. An ex-mayor of Lincoln and a long-time student of its records, Mr. Hill is well equipped for his task. He has used a broadly chronological treatment from the Reformation with separate chapters on geography, city institutions, the Elizabethan church, and social and economic affairs. In addition to the printed local and family records, Mr. Hill has relied heavily on the records of the Corporation and the Common Council although he cites none of his local archival sources specifically. Of interest is the evidence of the economic basis of political influence in the county and the influence of court and gentry over the city. The story of the struggle of the city to pay the fee farm rent set in more prosperous times and held by the earls of Rutland in the sixteenth century is absorbing. The efforts of the Common Council to solve the serious but expensive problem of silt in the Fossdyke show the conflict of interest between city and county and the changing social and economic pattern. Mr. Hill seems most at home in Tudor and early Stuart Lincoln. His material for the Civil War and Restoration is less original and more episodic although there is valuable information on the extent and means of Puritan influence and the later re-establishment of Royalist and Anglican control. There are useful maps, appendixes showing wages and prices, and an index. While there is no formal bibliography, the footnotes to printed sources are complete. HELEN NUTTING, *Wells College*

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES AND STATE PAPERS RELATING TO THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN PRESERVED IN THE ARCHIVES AT VIENNA, SIMANCAS, BESANÇON, BRUSSELS, MADRID AND LILLE. Volume XIII, PHILIP AND MARY, JULY, 1554–NOVEMBER, 1558.

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Edited by *Royall Tyler*. (London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1954, pp. xxvii, 482, £4 4*s*.) Nearly a century ago, in 1862, there appeared the first volume of this "Spanish Calendar," dealing with the reign of Henry VII. Volume XI, which straddled the end of the reign of Edward VI and the start of that of Mary, came out in 1916. Meanwhile, the *Calendar of Letters and State Papers Relating to . . . English Affairs Preserved Principally in the Archives of Simancas* had been completed (4 vols., London, 1892–99) for the reign of Elizabeth, 1558–1603. In 1950, publication of the older series resumed with Volume XII, and now, with this final one, students have coverage for the whole 118 years of the five Tudor monarchs. The present volume has 503 documents, of which only one quarter have previously been published, and those scattered in some half-dozen titles. Since the form of the entries in 1954 is the same as in earlier volumes, it can need no description or eulogy here. As for the editing, it is a little humiliating but also very pleasant to confess that after a careful search, and some random comparison with entries which have another printed version, I can find no flaw. To say the worst possible, perhaps there could have been more indication of what part of a document was, originally, in cipher. In diplomatic dispatches of four hundred years ago, as well as of today, it can at times be suggestive if something important was written in the clear. The nature of the materials in this volume varies a little from that of all the others. Philip of Spain was also king of England, as consort of Queen Mary, for all except the few earliest days of the four years covered. He must have made some decisions without writing anyone about them, and he naturally accredited no ambassador to England even when he was absent in his Burgundian realms, as he was for more than half of the period. But he retained agents there, his imperial father had his own ambassador in England until he abdicated, and letters between Philip in the Low Countries and officials in Spain or elsewhere, or among lesser figures of the Spanish Empire, fill in the gap fairly well for the historian. (There is not much for late 1555 and most of 1556, for reasons that are not known.) Comment on the whole story of England, as seen by officialdom, appears—political, religious, financial, military, and ceremonial pageantry—though with domestic affairs subordinated to foreign aims and interests. As in other volumes of the series, there is also much for the history of Spain and the Low Countries. Unlike some of the later volumes, there is little recorded for America.

ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY, *University of California, Los Angeles*

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE RUSSIA COMPANY, 1553–1603. By *T. S. Willan*, Reader in History in the University of Manchester. (Manchester, Eng., Manchester University Press, 1956, pp. ix, 295, 30*s*.) The Russia Company affords particular interest since it was the first English joint-stock company. In this book, a sequel to the author's analysis of the charter membership of the Russia Company (*The Muscovy Merchants of 1555*, Manchester, 1953), Mr. Willan covers the establishment of the company, its initial organization and later changes, the privileges granted to it by the English crown and Russian tsars, the character and extent of its trade, the problem of interlopers, and the diplomatic developments that of necessity arose from its privileged position in Russia. A concluding chapter appraises the historical role and importance of the company. Mr. Willan has written a competent and workmanlike study. He has searched extensively for his data, used them discriminatingly and judiciously, corrected several errors of earlier writers, and not ventured conclusions where the data are lacking. English language materials, with only a scattering of those in Russian, are his sources. Because the early records of the company were destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666 there are many gaps in the story, particularly in the matter of the company's finances. There are other gaps arising from insufficient in-

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formation about the Russian side of the story, gaps which further research in the Soviet Union might close; but here, too, fire has been a great destroyer, notably at Moscow in 1626. Unfortunately Mr. Willan fails to spell out wherein his work goes beyond those of his predecessors: Armand J. Gerson and Earnest V. Vaughan in *Studies of the History of English Commerce in the Tudor Period* (New York, 1912); and William Page, *The Russia Company from 1553 to 1660* (London, 1913). With one minor exception they are not even mentioned. Mr. Willan contents himself with the simple explanation that he used "material neglected by earlier historians of the Company," mainly some private collections of manuscripts and such germane studies as have been published since 1913. He also fails to include a systematic bibliography, highly desirable in a scholarly work. To ascertain wherein this work supersedes the earlier ones this reviewer had to search through the footnotes for the sources used. Nevertheless, this book is a sound study, of interest primarily to economic historians and to students of early Anglo-Russian relations.

RAYMOND H. FISHER, *University of California, Los Angeles*

THE ENFORCEMENT OF ENGLISH APPRENTICESHIP: A STUDY IN APPLIED MERCANTILISM, 1563–1642. By *Margaret Gay Davies.* [Harvard Economic Studies, Volume XCVII.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1956, pp. x, 319, $6.00.) Mercantilism has acquired a universal fascination for the twentieth century. Dictators have sought inspiration in its efforts, however primitive, at a planned economy. Upholders of laissez-faire have found ominous precedent in the creeping influence of government—both central and local—in private affairs. And the most objective of social scientists have attempted to analyze popular attitudes toward it and even to evaluate its ultimate success. This excellent book offers a salutary antidote to the extreme of each of these interpretations. Through a detailed study of the enforcement over eighty years of one central clause of the Statute of Artificers of 1562—"the most comprehensive expression of the internal policy of English mercantilism"—economic planning is found to result more from private interest than from public policy. Governmental influence is discovered to be operating out of a minimum concern for public order rather than any urge to achieve the leviathan state. And the popular acceptance or rejection of this legislation is found so to vary in time, place, and profession as to defy such simple constructs as economic man. Only by acting with that ambivalence which is the real hallmark of the economic historian is Mrs. Davies able to accomplish all this. For the economist in her shows how to assemble and interpret her statistical data, which are perforce so sketchy that only a historian would dare make anything of them. Enforcement of apprenticeship under the act is studied in two central courts —Exchequer and King's Bench—and in fifteen counties, chosen either because good quarter session records were available or because they represented a significantly varied sample. Mrs. Davies found that over ninety-five per cent of the prosecutions under the act were by private interests, which meant in most cases a professional prosecutor or informer. The latter's function and especially the interaction of his social unpopularity and his continued usefulness represent one of the many fascinating by-products of this study. The public prosecutions were mostly through local presentments by the constables to the justices. The analysis of when, where, and why these prosecutions occurred suggests some most interesting patterns of economic change: the critical importance of the expansion in the distributive trades, the peculiar variations in economic prosperity between different areas or between smaller areas and the country as a whole, and the comparatively slight difference between country and town. Finally, "industrial regulation . . . seems to have occupied a consistently peripheral position in the sphere of central and local government concern with mercantilist policy." Both

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before and after 1630, governmental policy was more concerned to regulate industry in the name of public order than to establish any unified set of economic objectives. Mrs. Davies is not questioning the almost universal acceptance of apprenticeship in Tudor and Stuart England. But her evaluation of its acceptance by government and people does much to further our understanding of mercantilism, its origins, its extent, and even its ultimate eclipse. T. C. MENDENHALL, *Yale University*

AN HONEST DIPLOMAT AT THE HAGUE: THE PRIVATE LETTERS OF HORATIO WALPOLE, 1715–1716. Edited with an Introduction by *John J. Murray,* Professor of History, Coe College. [Indiana University Publications, Social Science Series, No. 13.] (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1956, pp. 394, $6.50.) In addition to the official dispatches submitted by Horatio Walpole as British plenipotentiary at The Hague to his brother-in-law, Lord Townshend, Secretary of State for Northern Affairs, he frequently sent personal letters on matters not suitable for public knowledge. These intimate letters, dated from February 8, 1715, to October 23, 1716, were acquired in 1949 by Indiana University and are here published in full, together with various enclosures including the newsletters supplied by Walpole's secret agents. The principal negotiations in which Walpole was involved concerned the Barrier Treaty, the Baltic squadrons, the renewal of the Dutch and imperial alliances, and the Anglo-French treaty. The letters provide interesting inside information on the methods of an eighteenth-century diplomat, including his use of bribery, and bring out clearly the complexity of the Dutch government which made any prompt action almost impossible, the problem of French relations with the Pretender, and the complications resulting from the Hanoverian ambitions of George I. In the end, conditions were developing which were soon to divide the Whig leaders and contribute to the removal of Townshend and the accession to power of the "Hanoverian" Whigs. Considering the problems he faced, the reader can sympathize with the "honest diplomat" when he says, "I wish to god I was well out of this negotiation . . ." (p. 299). The editing throughout is excellent. Professor Murray clearly presents the historical setting of the letters and provides footnotes that fully identify the persons and explain the various matters referred to by Walpole. With the editor's able assistance the letters present a story that will be of interest and value to any student of the intricate diplomatic maneuvers of the years following the War of the Spanish Succession. CHARLES B. REALEY, *University of Kansas*

ENGLISH POLITICS IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Robert Walcott, Jr.* [Harvard Historical Monographs, XXVIII.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1956, pp. viii, 291, $3.50.) This study by Professor Walcott, upon which he has been working for almost twenty years, is an analysis of the structure and functioning of English political parties from about 1701 to 1708. Although begun as a Harvard Ph.D. thesis it has developed into one of the successful works from the school of Namier. Considering the enormous amount of research which was put into this volume, its size is deceptively small. The actual narrative covers only 160 pages and the appendixes, bibliography, and index an additional 131. The original plan of the author for a lengthy narrative was discarded in favor of the analytical approach. Under the structure of politics Professor Walcott deals successively with the methods of electing members to the House of Commons; the makeup of the House of Commons in 1701; and the party groups in the parliament of 1701–1702. Under the functioning of parties he treats party groups in action before 1702; the general election of 1702; and the parliamentary session of 1707–1708. Both in his approach to his self-imposed task and in his conclusions Professor Walcott has attacked the interpretations

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of Professor G. M. Trevelyan, Professor Keith Feiling, and W. T. Morgan on the parts played by the Whig and Tory parties during the reigns of William III and Anne. This attack is based on the contention that while Whigs and Tories are significant they do not adequately explain the entire political picture. In the place of the two-party system Professor Walcott suggests that parliament should be considered as a compass card with Whig and Tory representing the east and west points and court and country the north and south points. Even within each segment there existed a bewildering number of sometimes contradictory subdivisions. Chapters five and six are devoted to case history studies in this framework. Especially effective is the account of how "the Godolphin ministry changed from a Court-Churchill-Harley-Rochester-Nottingham coalition into a Court-Churchill-Newcastle-Junto combination." Although the sharp criticisms of the positions of the two-party school which are scattered through the narrative are almost certain to arouse the wrath of some historians, the reviewer believes that Professor Walcott has proved his main thesis. At least in his conclusion in the final sentence of his narrative he is objective, cautious, and urbane: "The more one studies the party structure under William and Anne, the less it resembles the two-party system described by Trevelyan in his Romanes Lecture and the more it seems to have in common with the structure of politics in the Age of Newcastle as explained to us by Namier." What we need during the next generation is a whole series of studies on the structure of politics from 1660 to 1867 on the model of the one Professor Walcott has given, and another historian of the genius of Professor G. M. Trevelyan to synthesize these results.

DONALD GROVE BARNES, *Western Reserve University*

ADAM SMITH AND THE SCOTLAND OF HIS DAY. By *C. R. Fay.* [Social and Economic Studies, University of Glasgow, No. 3.] (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1956, pp. vii, 174, $4.75.) This book is described by its author as "a study of Adam Smith and the Scotland in which he lived and wrote, of its influence on him and his on it: a study also of the contribution which he and his fellow-countrymen, resident in Scotland or England, made to the accomplishment of the eighteenth century in politics and law, industry, literature, science and art" (p. 2). The period covered is the half century of Smith's adult life or approximately the years between the publication of Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* in 1739 and the death of Robert Burns in 1796. Smith's Scottish friends were indeed an astonishing group—drawn, as Mr. Fay remarks, from a small section of a small country—who contributed significantly to every branch of intellectual activity and who were the intimates of almost every figure of importance in England and France. Besides Hume and Burns and Smith himself, there were Mansfield, Wedderburn, and Dundas in politics and law; the novelist Smollett; the historian Robertson; the brothers Hunter in medicine; Joseph Black, James Watt, and the geologist Hutton in science; and in architecture and the decorative arts the Adam family. But Scottish pre-eminence was not a historical accident. For though the country was relatively poor, its economy was rapidly advancing, and relations were close between the academic and the business community. Its education was solidly based on the Latin classics without being antiquarian, and the educated Scot stood in close intellectual relations with the Continent. Its religion and politics, in the Lowlands, were generally liberal. Its intellectual temper was stated in a nutshell by John Hunter, who wrote to his pupil Jenner: "Why do you ask me a question, by the way of solving it? I think your solution just, but why think, why not try the experiment?" (p. 4). The plan of Mr. Fay's book includes Smith's life and works in outline, drawn from the standard biographies; a chapter on Kirkaldy with remarks on Scottish education; one on Glasgow with remarks on the

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growth of Scottish overseas trade; one on Edinburgh with remarks on his academic, social, and official relationships; and a series of chapters on law and political economy, on his relations with Townshend and American taxation, with Franklin and Strahan, with Gibbon, and finally with Turgot. This indicates its scope and the array of subjects upon which it touches. Its performance, however, is in the nature of notes and queries and comments rather than of connected exposition and criticism. It brings together, sometimes from well-known sources and sometimes from unpublished letters and documents, a variety of incidents and ideas that may have a bearing on Smith's economics or his moral and political philosophy. It does not attempt to weave them into a history of the period or an analysis of the thought of the men who made the period notable. The book is often suggestive but it is not a coherent representation of the time or an evaluation of its successes and failures.

GEORGE H. SABINE, *Cornell University*

ENGLISH THOUGHT, 1860–1900: THE THEOLOGICAL ASPECT. By *L. E. Elliott-Binns.* (Greenwich, Conn., Seabury Press, 1956, pp. ix, 388, $7.00.) Elliott-Binns is a man of both scholarly and practical interests. During his long career (he is now past seventy) he has not only produced various works on church or Biblical history at the rate of about one every other year, but has simultaneously, in his clerical capacity, administered the affairs of a succession of English parishes, some of them fairly large. Before he wrote his well-known *Religion in the Victorian Era* (1936), his scholarly efforts had been largely devoted to the Old Testament, the medieval papacy, and the Reformation. This latest work shows the same careful and extensive research and the same charitableness of judgment as his earlier Victorian study and his *Early Evangelicals* (1953). The leading ideas of the period, secular as well as theological, are treated with insight and often with gentle wit; but, because they are grouped in chapters reflecting academic disciplines (natural sciences, philosophy, history, the Bible, comparative religion, literature, and so on), no integrated interpretation of underlying issues emerges. The reason for this failing is a matter of conjecture. One possible explanation may be a defective understanding of liberalism, the dominant force in the intellectual life of the age. His scattered observations on the blind spots of Victorian liberals are invariably good natured and sometimes telling, but he does not come to grips with the liberal message—probably because he does not see it as a message. Mill, Spencer, Huxley, Stephen, and others figure in his pages, not as profoundly religious men with important if not exactly Christian insights to contribute but simply as great minds who had somehow missed the right road. By nibbling at the periphery of the liberal outlook rather than evaluating it systematically, he has left himself open to Shirley's rejoinder to Barbara Undershaft, "Ah, if you would only read Tom Paine in the proper spirit!"

HOWARD R. MURPHY, *Perry, Georgia*

THE PEOPLE AND THE CONSTITUTION: BEING A HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S INFLUENCE IN BRITISH GOVERNMENT. By *Cecil S. Emden.* (2d ed.; New York, Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. ix, 339, $6.75.) When this admirable book was first published in 1933 it was rightly described as "one of the most considerable contributions to the study of the British Constitution made in recent years." In its cogent and closely reasoned chapters the history of the people's influence in British government was traced with precision and skill. Particular emphasis was given to the problems of public opinion and government, parties and the people, party organization and government, the people and policy, the choice of ministries, party tactics, the formulation of issues, arguments for and against the referendum, the extent of the mandate, and the political capacity of the people. The historical and analytical passages of the first edition have been but

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slightly changed in the second. There have been added several sections about the contours of the political landscape, the emerging problems of the United Kingdom in the past two decades, and the history of the people's influence since the two-party system has returned. *The People and the Constitution* is a comprehensive and sound book, the work of a master scholar. Readers will be frequently impressed with Professor Emden's erudition and his wise remarks. On the other hand, not every weighty opinion will pass unchallenged. Sentences such as these may furrow brows and bring objecting nays: "Many people consider (and surely it cannot be seriously controverted) that every effort should be made to keep foreign politics clear of party strife so that continuity of policy may be facilitated and consequently the country's diplomacy be made more effective" (p. 308). "The effectiveness of the people's decisions on simple questions should not be imperilled by attempts to thrust upon them the function of dealing with proposals of future policy, the results of which are beyond their capacity to estimate" (p. 314). GOLDWIN SMITH, *Wayne University*

MY FATHER: THE TRUE STORY. By *A. W. Baldwin.* (London, George Allen and Unwin; Fair Lawn, N. J., Essential Books, 1956, pp. 360, $4.00.) Mr. A. W. Baldwin—the second son of the prime minister—has written this biography of his father out of indignation at the charges leveled against him by earlier writers and to set aright the historical record that "is in danger of being permanently misdirected about him." The discharge of such a filial obligation does not usually result in good biography, but in this case the author has come off rather better than one would have expected. Few public figures have suffered the reversal of fortune that visited Baldwin. In 1935 the electoral victory of the Tories was above all a tribute to his popularity in the country; by 1940, in what should have been honorable retirement, he was reviled by his fellow countrymen as though he had been a traitor. The nub of the biography is found in the author's efforts to justify the earlier position of his father and to discredit the latter. Though not entirely successful, the writer does raise serious questions that will have to be answered in subsequent works on this subject. Undoubtedly Baldwin has suffered at the hands of careless, or mischievous, writers who have distorted the real meaning of his speech—the "appalling frankness" one—of November 12, 1936. Widely represented as a confession that he had resorted to deceit to win the election of 1935, the speech in reality referred to the earlier years of 1933 and 1934 and the relationship between the spirit of pacifism and the level of armaments in Great Britain in those years. Perhaps more serious—certainly more fundamental—is the question of whether Baldwin failed to give the country the leadership demanded by its circumstances. His critics are almost certainly right in saying that he did not give the leadership that the country needed. But is it not possible to argue that he did give the country the leadership that it deserved? By how much can any leader of a democratic country draw ahead of the prevailing opinion of his time? And to what extent should he be responsible for forming rather than heeding that opinion? Surely there is little doubt in what answers greatness would be found. Baldwin, as Churchill wrote, was too much "a pale reflexion of everyone's perplexities." The book reveals interesting insights into Baldwin's character and personality, is well written, and places to the fore the problem of judgment and evaluation that must always concern those who deal in any critical way with the performances of public men. It adds measurably to the some half dozen books that deal intimately with Baldwin.

JAMES L. GODFREY, *University of North Carolina*

MERCHANT SHIPPING AND THE DEMANDS OF WAR. By *C. B. A. Behrens.* [British Official Histories of the Second World War: United Kingdom Civil Series.] (London, H. M. Stationery Office and Longmans, Green; distrib. by British Informa-

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tion Services, New York, 1955, pp. xix, 494, $6.30.) This scholarly and incisive volume presents the story of British merchant shipping against the background of the Second World War, a story that equals in drama, human interest, and historical significance the best military histories that have appeared so far. The author, a fellow of Newnham College, Cambridge, has joined painstaking scholarship and statistical analysis to a gift for fast-moving narration. She exploits admirably the hitherto unexplored primary sources in the Ministry of War Transport and brings out the significance of the Second World War as a transport war. Certain related matters, such as merchant shipbuilding, tankers, and coastwise shipping, are dealt with in other volumes of the monumental "History of the Second World War: United Kingdom Civil Series," edited by Sir Keith Hancock. Captain S. W. Roskill's *The War at Sea,* in the United Kingdom Military Series, treats the parallel problems of the British Navy. Miss Behrens sets forth clearly the conflicting civilian and military demands upon the British-controlled fleet of merchant ships throughout the world, from the United Kingdom to India, Australia, and New Zealand. She establishes the extent to which the limited supply of shipping fulfilled the large number of demands made upon it, and she explains the extremely important and difficult problems which arose concerning both the demand and the supply. She destroys such widely held beliefs as that the wartime shipping shortage was caused solely by ships being sunk faster than they could be replaced, and that the end of the shortage was due exclusively to American shipbuilding and the defeat of the German submarines. This volume reveals the crucial contribution made by the British government and the shipping industry (owners, officers, and crew) in planning, management, and labor. The author's carefully considered conclusion is that the great achievements of British shipping "were not those of the Merchant Navy and the Ministry of War Transport alone but . . . of an enormous number of different authorities, and indeed of the whole British people and Commonwealth" (p. 440). Certain aspects of the subject presented in this volume are studied at greater length or in more technical detail in D. N. Chester, ed., *The Lessons of the British War Economy,* F. H. Hinsley, *Hitler's Strategy,* H. Duncan Hall, *North American Supply,* and Philip Morse and George N. Kimball, *Methods of Operation Research.* Miss Behrens, however, has accomplished the task she set herself. Her work illuminates a subject of capital importance and will be of value to those who use the study of history to anticipate future experience as well as to master past experience. SIDNEY RATNER, *Rutgers University*

THE STRUGGLE FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES, 1870–97. By *Lewis Herbert Thomas,* Provincial Archivist of Saskatchewan. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1956, pp. viii, 276, $5.00.) This careful and thoroughly documented survey of the coming of responsible government to Canada's North-West Territories will be of value both to students of Canadian and Commonwealth affairs and to those who are interested in territorial government in other areas. It is the first detailed account of much of the complex and often frustrating struggle for local control which culminated in the amendment to the North-West Territories Act of 1897. Where Dr. Thomas deals with more familiar aspects of western history, like the Riel rebellions, his judicious use of a wide range of source materials enables him to take a balanced view of questions some of which have been highly controversial. The book is provided with good maps and statistical tables. Because the Canadian government was for many years convinced that the northwest was best controlled from Ottawa, it was attacked again and again on points familiar to colonial powers before and since. Lack of local knowledge, inattention to the affairs of the west, a piecemeal and unenlightened approach to the

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problem of western governmental institutions, and appointments made from political expediency, of all of these and more both Conservative and Liberal governments were accused. The author shows that many of these charges had foundation. Yet there were instances where Canadian intentions were good even where performance was inept, as in the bungled mission of McDougall in 1870. There was also something to be said for a cautious approach to the construction of a government for a land with such vast distances and such a scanty population. Dr. Thomas feels that the most characteristic expression of western aspirations came, not from the proponents of immediate provincial status but from those who wanted to keep constitutional development in line with social and economic change.

ALICE R. STEWART, *University of Maine*

A STUDY OF THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH WEST INDIES TO THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Elsa V. Goveia* [Historiografias, II.] (Mexico, D.F., Instituto Panamericano de Geografia e Historia, Comision de Historia, 1956, pp. 192, $2.25.) Relatively few works on the Caribbean have been published in our own century. The situation was quite different in earlier times when the mysteries of the Western Isles were unfolded before a fascinated European public, when they underwent phenomenal development and became focal points of conflict, and when they emerged as the jewels of great Old World empires. Some of the most able historical writing of modern times dealt with problems attending their exploitation and only their acute decline since 1815 has led students of historiography to neglect them in the recent era. Frank Cundall, devoted secretary of the Institute of Jamaica, was long convinced that a study of the literature on Caribbean affairs constituted a worthy historical project but could never persuade a specialist in expansion to undertake this. It is pleasing indeed that the work has now been carried out in admirable fashion by a staff member of the University College of the West Indies which he so long envisaged, working largely in the institute library. The author discusses in turn the numerous historians who have dealt with Britain's sugar islands, 1600 to 1900. Her technique is to consider the author's background, his personal knowledge of the subject, his work in its various editions and translations, his philosophy, and his book's strong and weak points. The result is a very readable and highly informative study certain to take honored place among modern bibliographical and historiographic writings. Local and general histories and special studies alike receive careful attention. Especially notable are the sections on Oldmixon, Burke, Raynal, Long, Edwards, and Gardner, and the meticulously dispassionate appraisals of their handiwork, which represent historical criticism at its best. The high sponsorship enjoyed will happily insure this important monograph wide distribution. An index would have added considerably to its value as a reference work.

LOWELL RAGATZ, *Ohio State University*

TRADE AND POLITICS IN THE NIGER DELTA, 1830–1885: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF NIGERIA. By *K. Onwuka Dike.* [Oxford Studies in African Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. vi, 250, $4.80.) In this excellent book Dr. Dike has made a unique contribution to the history of internal politics in the African "city states" of the Niger Delta, and has presented a stimulating reinterpretation of the motives and methods of British expansion in the area. The source materials he has uncovered, particularly the papers of descendants of leading African families in Bonny, Opobo, and Calabar, suggest further possibilities for research in the history of West Africa. He has also used with skill the pertinent Colonial Office and Foreign Office manu-

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scripts, especially the slave trade series of the Foreign Office, and the uncatalogued manuscripts held by the Nigerian government, including consular papers, minutes of the court of equity, and confidential intelligence reports. Dr. Dike analyzes the process by which the palm-oil trade supplanted the slave trade, an economic revolution that disrupted the city-states and led to the gradual expansion of the authority of the British consuls until the flag finally followed trade. The author challenges the view that European penetration of West Africa was delayed only by geographical barriers and unaccustomed diseases; his evidence shows that vigorous African opposition was also an important factor. His portrayal of the African middlemen who rose to power by selling slaves and palm oil to Europeans includes some fine personality sketches, and his description of the political organization and conflicts within the city-states, including the revolts of former slaves between 1850 and 1875, is particularly valuable. A Nigerian himself, the author gives us unusual insights that would probably be impossible for a historian without his African background. In the analysis of the motives for British expansion in West Africa, heavy stress is placed on economic factors. The author believes that Britain did not take over the Niger Delta until the late nineteenth century because the native governments served her trade interests so well until that time that she "preferred the cheap informal dependence of the Delta type to the expensive colonies of the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone."

VERNON MCKAY, *School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University*

THE JEWS IN SOUTH AFRICA: A HISTORY. Edited by *Gustav Saron* and *Louis Hotz*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. xvii, 422, $5.60.) Although the editors' purpose is "to give the first comprehensive picture of the history of the South African Jewish community," their book hardly supplants Louis Herrman's *History of the Jews in South Africa,* cited in the bibliography. Their hope that the book will contribute to the "general history of South Africa" is fulfilled only as its appearance at this time reveals South African Jewish concern about anti-Semitism, which the writers seek to combat by showing that Jews have given much to South Africa. The book has too many chapters (nineteen and an epilogue) by too many writers (sixteen) with an unevenness of performance and an overlapping of material beyond that expected in a collective work. Although Mr. Saron's chapter on Transvaal Jewish attitudes prior to the Anglo-Boer War has merit, too many chapters have poor integration of material, largely English, thereby ignoring the recent voluminous Afrikaans literature on the Jewish "problem." The writers' desire to avoid the unpleasant makes them brush over the friction between the Cape Town Congregation and the Jewish Board of Deputies (having parallels in Dutch Reformed and Anglican Church history) and the failure to make Hebrew a living tongue (in contrast to the successful Afrikaans drive). Although noting the good relations between Gentiles and Jews during much of the nineteenth century, the book soft-pedals anti-Semitism—subtle among the English and open with many Afrikaners. In this regard the post-Union epilogue by Mr. Saron is particularly unsatisfactory. Although there is recognition that newly urbanized Afrikaners in the 1930's made Jews their economic scapegoat, there is only an embarrassed nod at the violently anti-Jewish attitude of Nationalists prior to 1948 and an anxious haste to accept their later disclaimers of it. As general secretary of the Jewish Board of Deputies, Mr. Saron may feel that this treatment is politic; but it supports Senator Rubin's charge that South African Jews "hope to be the last dog beaten." A deeper weakness is the intellectual dichotomy of the writers in simultaneously urging "uniqueness" and "integration" for South African Jews. Mr. Saron plumps for cultural pluralism and quotes approvingly the

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governor general on Afrikaner-English co-operation, "Why can we not be one in action, even though we differ in language, tradition, history and culture?" (p. 399). The question would seem to contain the answer. For a group comprising four per cent of the tiny white minority to support cultural pluralism seems a dangerous luxury. COLIN RHYS LOVELL, *University of Southern California*

PORTRAIT WITH BACKGROUND: A LIFE OF GEORGIANA MOLLOY. By *Alexandra Hasluck*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. xi, 284, $5.50.) Since 1948 there have been several significant studies of phases of western Australia's foundation, and now Mrs. Hasluck provides a notable contribution. Georgiana Molloy, from whose letters the core of this story is drawn, was a remarkable woman. A bride with genteel upbringing, she was faced with every kind of challenge and hardship of pioneering life, as well as the death of two of her seven children. She and her husband, Captain Molloy, and a few other families, helped found Augusta, near Cape Leeuwin, in 1830. Defeated by the jarrah and the karri, enormous hardwoods, they moved north to the Vasse River, where grazing land was available. Here she died in 1843 as the result of inadequate medical care and from the privations of past years, at the age of thirty-seven. How this intelligent, beautiful, and courageous woman found time to collect and identify, many for the first time, dozens of western Australian wild flowers, is a mystery. She was an amateur, but in the English sense of almost professional competence. She was also a gifted correspondent. Her description of the death, by drowning, of her twenty-month-old son surely must be one of the most poignant passages in all of Australian pioneer history (pp. 154–55). Mrs. Hasluck has explored the primary materials with commendable diligence, particularly family papers and journals, and she has made excellent use of the Colonial Secretary's Papers of Western Australia. Indeed, she quotes sometimes at wearying length. Her judgment of leading colonial characters, such as Governor Stirling, is thoughtful and perceptive, and her failure to evaluate the 1948 biography of the governor by Malcolm Uren is disappointing. *The Hentys* by Marnie Bassett is the only other serious omission from an excellent bibliography. Illustrations are extensive and appropriate. Besides a well-balanced treatment of political and economic development, Mrs. Hasluck has made the daily round, the common task come alive. Customs, clothes, meals, manners are vividly described. Here is a real and significant excursion into social history. SAMUEL CLYDE MCCULLOCH, *Rutgers University*

AIR WAR AGAINST GERMANY AND ITALY, 1939–1943. By *John Herington*. [Australia in the War of 1939–1945; Series Three: Air, Volume III.] (Canberra, Australian War Memorial, 1954, pp. xvii, 731, 25*s*.) This large volume is one of a projected twenty-two-volume history of *Australia in the War of 1939–1945*. The history is to be divided into five series, with a category for army, navy, air, civil, and medical services. The present volume is the sixth in the series to be published and is the first to appear of the four air volumes planned. All in all, the Australian historical project is a very formidable one, and both the authors and the Australian authorities are to be congratulated on their perseverance in an almost limitless task. Mr. Herington's approach to the problem is an unusual one. He says in his preface: "The Australian contribution to air fighting against Germany and Italy consisted in the allocation of a large number of individuals for virtual incorporation within the Royal Air Force rather than the provision of self-sufficient units to work in co-operation with the major force." The intention always was that these individuals would eventually be formed into Australian national units, but in the large majority of cases circumstances prevented the realization of this objective. Herington tells us:

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"Apart from three regular units of the Royal Australian Air Force and seventeen temporary squadrons of that Force which served in Europe, Australian airmen were spread among more than 500 squadrons of the Royal Air Force." This experience is of interest to Americans chiefly because it points up the danger that American airmen and smaller tactical units stood in, in the early days of our participation in the war (in North Africa, for instance) when the tendency of the Royal Air Force was to incorporate our flyers, aircraft, and all absorbable units into the larger and more thoroughly established R.A.F. units. The tendency was successfully resisted by American air commanders. From the historian's standpoint it remains a curious fact that the very dispersion of Australians throughout the British forces provides the excuse or, better, *raison d'être,* for Mr. Herington's book. His history is not the history of the Australian experience *per se,* since that is not isolable. Rather Mr. Herington outlines the whole story of the air war in Europe, on the policy as well as the operational level, and gives us an Australian view of the over-all conduct of the air war. He of course does not leave out of account the exploits of Australian crews, but the essence of the book is the case study it presents of the integration of Dominion components within a British Commonwealth and Empire air force. As such, this volume and its sisters will take their place in the history of the Commonwealth, and, as such, the effort put into them is justifiable. Mr. Herington has a note to the effect that he has been given full access to official documents but, from some omissions, one wonders if access was actually given to command and control documentation at the highest level.

MARVIN W. MCFARLAND, *Washington, D. C.*

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## FRANCE

*Beatrice F. Hyslop*[1]

LES CARACTÈRES ORIGINAUX DE L'HISTOIRE RURALE FRANÇAISE. By *Marc Bloch*. SUPPLÉMENT ETABLI D'APRÈS LES TRAVAUX DE L'AUTEUR (1931–1944). By *Robert Dauvergne*. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1956, pp. xliv, 230.) When Marc Bloch published his *Caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française* (1931), he stated frankly that his work, as in the case of all large syntheses, would soon have to be revised to bring it abreast of subsequent scholarship. Unfortunately, Professor Bloch did not live to accomplish the revision which he realized would be necessary, for he was shot for his activities in the French Resistance movement in 1944. Nevertheless, one of Bloch's devoted disciples, Robert Dauvergne, has endeavored to bring *Les Caractères* up to date by gleaning from the mass of articles and book reviews which poured from the pen of the master after 1931 new ideas and new data and by publishing his findings in this present *Supplément*. This work has a great utility for the specialist, particularly for the medieval period, where Bloch carried on his most original research. For the general historian, however, this compilation will prove disappointing. Only snatches of Bloch's articles are reproduced, which makes the discourse disjointed; all too frequently, apparently for the sake of completeness, what is offered is little more than a reference to some work which Bloch had recently reviewed; and the subjects treated are so dependent on what Bloch happened to have written about, that the revision is anything but systematic. In fact, from this example, the method employed here is not to be recommended as an expedient for revising the works of an author posthumously.

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH, *Columbia University*

NAPOLÉON I[er] ET L'ORGANISATION AUTORITAIRE DE LA FRANCE. By *Félix Ponteil*, Correspondant de l'Institut, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres, Directeur de l'Institut d'études politiques de l'Université de Strasbourg. [Collection Armand Colin, Section d'histoire et sciences économiques, No. 307.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1956, pp. 222, 200 fr.) This brief and clearly written institutional history tells us little we did not already know, but it does provide an inexpensive manual for the student and the common reader. It is most readily compared with Godechot's *Les institutions de la France sous la Revolution et l'Empire*: Ponteil covers essentially the same topics as Godechot's section on Napoleon in about half the

[1] Responsible only for the list of articles.

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wordage. Either book is a necessary and valuable supplement to the more general one-volume studies of the Napoleonic era. The author's aim is to show how the "institutional conquests of the Great Revolution were continued, and in what respects the imperial regime departed from the principles proclaimed in 1789." It is evident that M. Ponteil thinks this "departure" to be considerable. His theme is that French institutions finally reflected the desire of the emperor for authority and hierarchy; in consequence, liberty and equality were sacrificed. The suppression of legislative opposition destroyed the ideal of liberty, and the *aristocratisation* of political, social, and intellectual life denied or contradicted the principle of equality. In sum, the virtue of Napoleon was that, after the storms of a revolution that had somehow gone awry, he brought a brief period of peace and order to France. The author concludes that the price paid for this service was too high. As with most writers in the republican tradition, M. Ponteil views the emperor with both admiration and dismay. When the balance is struck, dismay predominates. The concluding chapter summarizes the Napoleonic achievement, but there is an elegiac undercurrent in memory of revolutionary hopes lost or distorted. The five-page bibliography follows the old French custom of assuming that nothing on the subject has been written in English. Even in a brief bibliography, one would have expected to see the work of Chapman and Holtman cited.

STANLEY J. IDZERDA, *Michigan State University*

UNE AFFAIRE DE FAMILLE AU XIX[e] SIÈCLE: MÉQUILLET-NOBLOT. By *Claude Fohlen*. [Cahiers de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, No. 75.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1955, pp. 141.) The history of Méquillet-Noblot et Cie vivifies those elements of both change and continuity that characterized most family enterprises in nineteenth-century France. Founded in 1801 with a capital of 54,000 francs for the manufacture of cotton goods, the firm grew slowly but surely by the reinvestment of profits until its capital surpassed three million francs at the end of the century. Nor had control or ownership ever strayed from the hands of the founders and their descendants. As emphasis on family control and internal finance provides the theme of continuity, so the story of adjustment to technological change, depression, and political crises provides the theme of change. At its origin the business was organized along the lines of the "merchant-capitalist" or domestic system of industry. Mechanical spinning with water power was introduced in 1819 and cylindrical printing in the 1820's. The first steam engine was installed in 1833, and the first power looms set up about the same time. Before the coming of the railway the firm produced solely for regional markets, but by the middle of the century it had warehouses and agents in Havre, Paris, Toulouse, and Lyon, and did a thriving business with the Mediterranean world as well. Both the American Civil War, by producing the "cotton famine," and the Franco-Prussian War brought serious problems, as did the Revolution of 1848; these storms were weathered thanks in large measure to the family structure of the firm—an advantage of that form of enterprise which is not often stressed. The book is thoroughly documented and based almost entirely on family and business archives, but the author has taken care to frame his subject in the wide context of economic history. He has illuminated a host of problems, both general and specific, of interest to historians, economists, and sociologists. The monograph is excellent, a model of its type.

RONDO E. CAMERON, *University of Wisconsin*

L'INDUSTRIE TEXTILE AU TEMPS DU SECOND EMPIRE. By *Claude Fohlen*. (Paris, Plon, 1956, pp. 534.) This is an interesting and valuable history of the cotton

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industry in France in the period of the American Civil War and of the treaties of commerce with England, Belgium, and the Zollverein. It gives the background necessary for an understanding of this period and a good deal of information on the woolen and linen industries. The bibliography, which covers national, departmental, and local archives, is unusually full and carefully chosen. With endless patience and keen insight Dr. Fohlen has studied the manufacturers in the cotton industry and has been remarkably successful in showing where they obtained their capital and how they used it. He describes the problems of marketing and buying as they changed under the influence of improvements in machinery, transportation, and communications. He shows also how many manufacturers were interested only in profits and the marriages of their children and how they frequently feared the cost of improvements and expansion. Such few weaknesses as the book has appear to the reviewer to be due chiefly to the need for originality and the use of unpublished sources required of a doctoral thesis. But they are not serious. (In his lists of the *Expositions* and *Enquêtes* of the French government, Dr. Fohlen apparently has not used the most important *Exposition* of 1851, nor those of 1849 and 1900.) The author has brought imagination and even a sense of humor to enrich his book and make it more agreeable to the reader. With the unusual ability demonstrated here, Dr. Fohlen is likely to become one of the best economic historians of France.

ARTHUR L. DUNHAM, *University of Michigan*

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1871–1914). 2e Série, 1901–1911, tome XIII (26 OCTOBRE 1910–30 JUIN 1911). [Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre de 1914.] (Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1955, pp. xxxiv, 709.) In this admirably edited collection the selection of documents illustrates many subjects briefly, but wisely concentrates attention on the two most important ones: the Potsdam negotiations and Moroccan affairs. M. Sazonov, upon taking over from Izvolski the direction of Russian foreign affairs, hurriedly paid his first visit, not to his ally in Paris but to Potsdam for friendly negotiations with Germany. His equivocal reports of these negotiations which dragged on for months also alarmed the French lest he might be weakening the Franco-Russian alliance. He made concessions to Germany concerning the extension of the Baghdad railway, although it had been agreed by Russia, France, and England that any discussions on this subject should be carried on only jointly, *à trois*. Moroccan affairs, regulated by the Algeciras Act and the Franco-German accord of February 9, 1909, at first seemed comparatively unexplosive. There was a project for Franco-German co-operation in Moroccan railway construction, but the French unfortunately delayed giving a prompt conclusion to it. Meanwhile they pushed forward economic and military reforms of their own and of the sultan, Mulay Hafid, who was pitiably dependent on French financial aid. Then came the dangerous Berber uprising against him and the consequent "March to Fez" by French troops to protect the Europeans in the city. The not unfriendly German attitude on these events has already been fairly well known from *Die Grosse Politik* and other sources. What is new and particularly interesting in this volume is the very abundant evidence of Spain's jealous, excited, and troublesome attitude. The Spanish, in their touchy nervousness at France's preponderant influence, raised all sorts of petty difficulties, demanded "equality" in every respect for their Moroccan zone, and finally sent Spanish warships and troops to Larache in answer to the French march to Fez. Three weeks later Kiderlen sent the *Panther* to Agadir. New and interesting also are the many private letters of French ministers and diplomats, notably of those two most able and perspicacious men, Paul and Jules Cambon.

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## THE LOW COUNTRIES

*William C. Kinsey*

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## NORTHERN EUROPE

*Oscar J. Falnes*

DANSK TOLDPOLITIK, 1760–1797 [English summary: Danish Tariff Policy, 1760–1797]. By *Aage Rasch.* (Aarhus, Universitetsforlaget, 1955, pp. 364, kr. 19.) Danish tariff policy has been the subject of study by statisticians, economic historians, and a few modern economists—among them Nathanson, Sponneck, Schovelin, and Birck—but no investigator has used more than printed official documents connected with tariff administration. To be sure, one competent economic historian, Albert Olsen, put Danish tariff policies of the eighteenth century in their proper context and perspective in his *Dänische Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1933) and in his history of Danish industry (2 vols.; 1943, 1944). Still lacking was a study that would trace Danish tariff policy for a limited period on the basis of surviving manuscript material so as to show "the motives various ministries had for issuing the tariffs, prohibitions and general regulations that appeared in those years," and that would examine the reasons why the government abandoned its traditional protectionist policy for a more liberal one (p. 14). This has been done here by a member of the Danish Rigsarkiv staff, Aage Rasch, who combines training in economic history with archival experience. The remarkably complete documentation, the many statistical tables, and the English summary (pp. 305–18) are useful features in this scholarly work.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD, *University of California, Los Angeles*

AFHANDLINGER TILEGNEDE ARKIVMANDEN OG HISTORIKEREN RIGSARKIVAR, DR. PHIL AXEL LINVALD AF NORDISKE FAGFÆLLER PÅ HALVFJERDSÅRSDAGEN 28. JANVAR 1956. Edited by *Johan Hvidtfeldt* and *Harald Jørgensen.* (Copenhagen, Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1956, pp. 342, D. kr. 30.) In this testimonial volume honoring Dr. Linvald, head of the Danish National Archives, on his seventieth anniversary, the archival studies only slightly outnumber the historical. This is appropriate as Linvald has been as active in one field as the other. The range of topics is wide. Included are studies on the Royal Archives, consular archives, local judiciary records, manorial archives, business archives, among others an essay on the records of the Danish East India Company, and ecclesiastical archives, including church records in Finland. The study likely to be of most interest to historians is Dybdahl's analysis of the Danish parliament's reorganization in 1888–1889 of the nation's archival resources. Among the historical essays are studies of some genealogical questions about Gorm the Old (Steinnes); the relations between commune and archbishop in twelfth-century Genoa (Bach); Copenhagen reports on the death of Charles XII (Ahnlund); the lack of Norwegian personnel in the joint monarchy's foreign service before 1814 (Koht); Blixen-Finecke's tenure as foreign minister in 1859–60 (Møller); and conflicting Nazi policies on population problems along the Slesvig border (Hvidtfeldt). In the historical group high rank goes to

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Jørgensen's study of the resolution adopted at Åbenrå in November, 1918, on the Slesvig question; here H. P. Hanssen's well-known diary is subjected to critical evaluation as a source for important events of those days. Of general interest is Hæstrup's account of the sabotage venture in 1943 on the German naval vessel "Linz" at Odense and its later significance for the Resistance effort. When twenty-six contributions, not held strictly to a common theme, are put together in one volume it is to be expected that a few titles will fall below the general level in originality of contribution and weight of substance. So it is here. But in this respect the editors have had at least the usual degree of success with testimonial volumes—and rather somewhat more. For most of the essays are substantial and based on heavy documentation. Some 325 admirers of standing and esteem—Danish countrymen and Scandinavian colleagues—have signed the dedication of the volume. Dr. Linvald should indeed feel honored by this solid testimonial to a lifetime of scholarship in the history of his country and its close neighbors.

OSCAR J. FALNES, *New York University*

EXCERPTA HISTORICA NORDICA. Edited by *Povl Bagge*. Published under the auspices of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. Vol. I. (Copenhagen, Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1955, pp. 155.) The general character of this publication has already been called to the attention of readers of the *Review* (July, 1956, p. 1076). Its summaries are fairly substantial; they average two to three pages, enough to provide a fair idea of a volume's contents. One space-saving device, in case the study first appeared in English, French, or German, or was accompanied, in the original, by a summary in one of these languages, is to include here a mere listing of the title, with relevant bibliographical information. At the head of the Swedish section (pp. 99–107) there is "A Brief Review of Writings on Swedish History, 1950–52," an excellent introduction to historiography in that country. Something similar is attempted in two pages for Finland. It will be commendable if surveys on the other countries can be included in future issues on the scale undertaken for Sweden.

O. J. F.

PETER VON SCHOLTEN: A CHAPTER OF THE HISTORY OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS. By *Carlo Christensen*. (Lemvig, 1956, pp. 48, kr. 20.) Included in this monograph are eleven pages in facsimile of letters and proclamations.

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## GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

*Ernst Posner*[1]

MYSTIQUES, SPIRITUELS, ALCHIMISTES DU XVI[e] SIÈCLE ALLEMAND: SCHWENCKFELD, SÉB. FRANCK, WEIGEL, PARACELSE. By *Alexandre Koyré*. [Cahiers des Annales, 10.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1955, pp. x, 116.) The four men considered here comprise a group not united by similar views but agreed on a common opposition to dogmatic Lutheranism and its organized visible church. For Schwenckfeld man is a sinner without hope so long as he remains solely the created, carnal, "external" man. It is only the "internal" spiritual man who has a relationship with God and who can understand not the letter but the spirit of the Bible. Sebastian Franck, under humanistic influence, considered man a sinner but not through original sin. Man is free to make his choice for good or evil. God is constantly being revealed to man by revelation, which comes only through the spirit without reference to external rites, and since divine revelation has continued through all ages it has been granted to men such as Cicero and Seneca. The fantastic Paracelsus carried over his views on the general structure of the universe into his theology. Man, an inert substance, is also imbued with a spiritual essence identified with the universal creative force. He is a double creature, man of the earth and also spiritual man, in the latter capacity a "little God," and it is belief in the spiritual man and thereby a relationship to God which indicates the way to salvation. While the views of Valentin Weigel were in some degree akin to those of Franck, they differed through the absence of any humanistic element, any emphasis upon man's determination of moral action. Weigel represents a return to the traditions of earlier German mysticism now applied to the

[1] Responsible only for the list of articles.

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problems of the Reformation. These four studies of religious independents who denied the value of any external church or community and considered orthodoxy a hindrance to salvation, are, according to the author, fragments of a projected larger work of which the realization has been prevented by other activities. Regrettably, therefore, we are denied any consideration of the later influence exerted by these four men.

C. D. O'MALLEY, *Stanford University*

FÖDERATIVE ELEMENTE IM DEUTSCHEN STAATSRECHT SEIT 1648. By *Ellinor von Puttkamer*. [Quellensammlung zur Kulturgeschichte, Band VII.] (Göttingen, Musterschmidt, 1955, pp. vii, 191, DM 14.50.) This little book is a product of the "re-thinking" of German history that has gone on since 1945. Aimed at the university student and the informed citizen, it provides an antidote for the shibboleth of centralism in German political values. The author has assembled some forty documents illustrating the persistence of federalism in German history from the treaty of Osnabrück in 1648 to the resolutions of the *Länder* presidents at Coblenz in 1948. For the purpose stated, the selection is sound. Continuity and clarity are achieved in an admirable introductory essay that considers federalism both historically and analytically. Most of the documents, such as various constitutions of the past century, are accessible elsewhere, but some, like Friedrich Gentz's constitutional plan of 1808, are difficult to find. In any case, it is convenient to have the relevant materials of three centuries gathered in one place. Especially enlightening is a side-by-side comparison of the Paulskirche and Prussian Union constitutions of 1849. On the debit side is the fact that few documents are given in entirety. About half of the Federal Act of 1815 has been omitted, for example, including the famous article guaranteeing state constitutions. Such pruning, though unavoidable, reduces the book's value for scholarly reference. Still, it was not meant for professors but for the reading public, and in that quarter it deserves wide circulation.

ENNO E. KRAEHE, *University of Kentucky*

COUNT ZINZENDORF. By *John R. Weinlick*. (New York, Abingdon Press, 1956, pp. 240, $4.75.) Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, founder of the Moravian Brethren, is a marvellous subject for the biographer. A scion of a noble family turned religious mystic and reformer, a life full of adventure, romance, and significant historical events, a fascinating and complex personality that challenges the imagination and psychological insight of an author, travels and missionary activities that took him to numerous areas of the civilized and uncivilized world, including western Pennsylvania, the religious community which he founded abounding in interesting manifestations of the interrelationships between religion and social and political currents—all these provide the biographer with a richness of subject matter that is hard to surpass. This notwithstanding, however, Zinzendorf has thus far not yet attracted any but "official" biographers. To the old works by the Herrnhut leaders, David Cranz and Spangenberg, and to the more recent studies by the school of Moravian scholars led by Otto Uttendörfer, is now added the biography by Dr. John R. Weinlick, professor of historical theology at the Moravian Theological Seminary in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Dr. Weinlick's work is the first full-length biography of Zinzendorf originally written in English, but it leans heavily on the older German literature, which is at times cited, as well as on works by American scholars, which are never cited. With some of the characteristics of a "devotional" biography, it is a straightforward narrative and factual account of the main events of the count's life, adorned with simple but clear illustrations, without much of an

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attempt at either social or psychological interpretation, without documentation and without bibliography and was obviously not written for the specialist. The author no doubt intended it as a book to be found in the home of a devout and faithful member of the Moravian church. From this standpoint he has succeeded ably.

KOPPEL S. PINSON, *Queens College*

THE GERMAN FIFTH COLUMN IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR. By *Louis De Jong.* Translated from the Dutch by *C. M. Geyl.* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1956, pp. xi, 308, $5.00.) Louis De Jong is executive director of the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation. The present study is the extensive expansion of the essay he sketched in *The Third Reich,* edited by Baumont, Fried, and Vermeil (New York, 1955). The first part of the book paints a dramatic picture of the image of the German fifth column as it was held during the war. It is a picture of a gigantic conspiratorial organization dedicated to attacking other countries from within—an organization which allegedly spread its powerful tentacles from Patagonia to the Ukraine; from Chicago to Bucharest. Reasons for the image are not far to seek: Hitler's much-quoted comment to Rauschning, "Our strategy, Forster, is to destroy the enemy from within, to conquer him through himself," clearly promised such a conspiracy. Further, there did in fact exist in the Third Reich several agencies of the party and the state which were designed to organize Germans living abroad in activities that would undermine the resistance of their adopted countries: apart from the fairly orthodox Amt Ausland-Abwehr of the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht and the Auswärtige Amt, there were four organizations of an essentially political nature: the Auslands-Organisation der NSDAP, the Aussenpolitische Amt der NSDAP, the Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle, and the Sicherheitsdienst. Moreover, the fact that the fifth column was effective in Poland and in Czechoslavakia seemed to imply that these were only typical examples of its ubiquity and power. Finally, responsible reporters and officials such as Leland Stowe, President Roosevelt, William J. Donovan, and—the author ruefully admits—Louis De Jong himself helped, in the years from 1939 to 1941, to authenticate the legend by grossly exaggerating the importance of the Nazi fifth column. In the second section, "Reality," the author judiciously assesses the actual organization and effectiveness of the fifth column. He concludes that it did indeed exist but that its importance has been greatly overrated. "Hysterical fear of the fifth column probably accomplished more than the fifth-columnists themselves." It was really effective only in Poland, the Sudetenland, and Yugoslavia; it was of negligible importance in France, the Netherlands, Norway, and Belgium; and of no importance in England, South America, and the United States. De Jong shows that far from one gigantic co-ordinated organization—like so much else in the Third Reich—its various agencies were characterized by inefficiency, jealousy, friction, and mutual double-cross. Further, the Volksdeutsch did not in fact effectively engage in the type of conspiratorial activity Hitler's agencies demanded. This is a valuable monograph. It gives a careful and impressively documented account of the German fifth column throughout the world. The author's conclusions, reached after exhaustive research and given with circumspection and caution, demand respect.

ROBERT G. L. WAITE, *Williams College*

VERDICT ON SCHACHT: A STUDY IN THE PROBLEM OF POLITICAL "GUILT." By *Earl R. Beck.* [Florida State University Studies, XX.] (Tallahassee, Florida State University, 1956, pp. x, 201, $3.50.) This volume, which treats the political career of Hjalmar Schacht in the period 1931–1945, is the second revisionist account to appear in recent years. Though completed earlier, its publication follows that of Peterson's study, which appeared in 1954. The author portrays a Schacht who

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was "ambitious, self-centered, opposed at times to parliamentary institutions, and ardently nationalist"; a Schacht who, like "whole sections of the German populace," naively entered Hitler's service "seeking the welfare of his country"; a Schacht who enthusiastically promoted the early rearmament of Germany and the recovery of German colonies; a Schacht who praised Hitler in public speeches but secretly worked against him after becoming convinced that Hitler was "a madman and a criminal"; a Schacht who was unjustly put on trial after 1945, and who merits classification as "a German Dreyfus." This reviewer admires the author's attempt to present a balanced view of his slippery subject, but believes that he has at times been overly apologetic. His account of Schacht's part in the Resistance is based chiefly upon the Gisevius memoirs, which he admits are more flattering to the "central banker" than most of the other Resistance literature. The generally sympathetic portrait which emerges from this study might have been altered by a fuller treatment of Schacht's economic career, for therein lay Schacht's positive contribution to the growth of Nazi Germany. Within the limits he imposed, the author has used all the important published sources on his subject, and it may be expected that his positive view of Schacht will be further accentuated when Dr. Amos Simpson publishes the results of his recent Schacht research. Meanwhile, this clearly written monograph supplements Peterson's less readable but broader volume and merits careful consideration by all who are concerned with the career of Schacht, or with the broader question of political "guilt" in totalitarian states.

JOHN L. SNELL, *Tulane University*

DEUTSCHLAND UND DIE WELTPOLITIK IM 20. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Ludwig Dehio.* (Munich, R. Oldenbourg, 1955, pp. 155, DM 8.50.) In this collection of six essays the editor of the *Historische Zeitschrift* expands upon some observations expressed in an earlier book, *Gleichgewicht oder Hegemonie* (1948). Two themes underlie both works: the demonism of power and a conception of continuity in modern European history seen in the great wars for hegemony from Charles V to Hitler. Now Germany and Europe are at the end of the rope, and Dehio takes a sharp look at the recent German past to find some better signposts for the future of the West. The essays are intimately thought-provoking. Few Western historians hew as firmly to the line or take such critical stock of their own national past. For all this constructive self-analysis, one misses a broader frame of reference. Dehio stands on Clausewitz, Ranke, Delbrück, and Meinecke; but one thinks also of Mahan, Lenin, and Langer. The two world wars are seen as a highly intensified continuation of earlier dynastic conflicts. There is little consideration of the newer elements of social and economic self-combustion as outlined in the crucial volumes of the Carnegie series on World War I, notably in Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's study of the war and German society. A refreshing essay on Versailles sees America's withdrawal from Europe as the major factor in the revival of demonic German power. Yet, one questions whether American power and influence more earnestly committed could have effectively bolstered a Western system so fraught with serious contradictions of ideology and policy. Dehio's version of the "dwarfing of Europe" is not so successfully outlined in terms of power politics alone as in some larger conception. Thus, in concentrating on the major German error (the schism of spirit and power), the author would appear to neglect other significant factors applicable to the larger Western scene. A major theme of the book is America's relationship to the dying European state system. In discussing Germany's prospects and anticipated reunification, Dehio resolutely rejects a solution at Russia's price—that would give Communism its third vital opportunity and bring it to the Channel. The author see the future of Germany and the West in America's hands. Are most Americans, particularly their historians and makers of foreign policy,

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well enough versed in German language and history to accept this opportunity without doing more than to pull chestnuts for the Germans out of a fire largely of their own making, and in return for some of that same demonic power?

HENRY CORD MEYER, *Pomona College*

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## ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*[1]

GASPARO CONTARINI ET SES MISSIONS. By *Orestes Ferrara.* Translated from Spanish by *Francis de Miomandre.* (Paris, Albin Michel, 1956, pp. 227, 490 fr.) Orestes Ferrara, a native of Italy, an officer in the Cuban war of independence, a professor of law at the University of Havana, and a Cuban representative in a number of international organizations, has followed up his *Le XVI^e siècle vu par les ambassadeurs vénitiens* (Paris, 1954) with a detailed study of Gasparo Contarini, one of the ablest of these ambassadors, who was made a cardinal by Pope Paul III in 1535. Basing his account on an apparently large number of secondary accounts and primarily on the *Relazioni* of the Venetian ambassadors, the *Regesten und Briefe des Cardinals Gasparo Contarini* (ed. by F. Dittrich), and the *Dispacci di Gasparo Contarini* in the Marciana

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Library in Venice, he gives us a spirited, well-written, semipopular account of Contarini's missions, beginning with that to the Diet of Worms in 1521 and ending with that to the religious colloquy at Regensburg in 1541. The author is at his best in his description of political, legal, and economic institutions, his clarification of complicated diplomatic negotiations, and his characterization of the leading personalities with whom Contarini came into contact. He quotes and enlarges upon Contarini's astute and objective observations concerning the weaknesses of the Holy Roman Empire, the rise of the townsmen in the Low Countries, the internal difficulties in Spain, the impact of the discovery of America, the Habsburg-Valois Wars, the submission of Italy to the Habsburgs, the reform program in the papal *curia,* and the attempts of Charles V to heal the religious schism. But he also has a remarkable grasp of the complicated religious issues involved in the colloquy at Regensburg, despite the fact that he has apparently not read such important recent studies as those by Hanns Rückert and Hubert Jedin. He may depict his irenic hero with his vision of "one Europe" in exaggerated colors, overemphasize his role in his missions, and oversimplify his religious convictions, but he produces a picture which merits the attention of the professional historian as well as the general reader.

HAROLD J. GRIMM, *Indiana University*

ECONOMISTI DI PUGLIA. By *Giovanni Carano-Donvito.* (Florence, "La Nuova Italia," 1956, pp. 458, L. 3000.) Much has been written about northern Italian economists by scholars like Luigi Einaudi, Giuseppe Prato, and Gino Luzzatto, but until the late Giovanni Carano-Donvito began his researches little attention had ever been given to the economists of the southeastern region of Italy. His studies, which originally appeared in various journals, are conveniently assembled in this volume of the "Collezione di studi meridionali" series, directed by Umberto Zanotti-Bianco. Old age and poor health prevented the author from completing and integrating all the studies he had in mind. Consequently, there is both repetitiousness and disproportionate allotment of space in the book, with several important recent writers such as Antonio De Viti de Marco (1858–1943) barely mentioned. But Carano-Donvito's careful spadework will be invaluable to other scholars in the field. A preliminary chapter presents a rapid chronological survey of the Apulian writers from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. It is of great help in guiding the uninitiated through a maze of little-known scholars who, according to the author, were the equals of many of their contemporaries elsewhere. The earliest writer mentioned is a historian, Scipione Ammirato of Lecce (1531–1601), whose views generally coincided with mercantilism. Among the agronomists—most of whom came from Lecce and wrote on olive culture —the outstanding early writer was Ferdinando Galiani (1728–1787), who argued cogently that economic legislation must take account of regional differences. Of the political economists the most influential by far were Marchese Giuseppe Palmieri of Lecce (1721–1793), a government minister, and Samuele Cagnazzi (1764–1852), an abbot of Altamura. The greater portion of the book is devoted to analysis of their trenchant observations on agriculture, land tenure, commerce, tax reform, extravagance, wartime economics, population growth, and the use of statistics.

CHARLES F. DELZELL, *Vanderbilt University*

ITALIAN FOREIGN POLICY UNDER MUSSOLINI. By *Luigi Villari.* (New York, Devin-Adair, 1956, pp. xii, 396, $6.00.) This book is offered as a contribution to the correction of the supposedly much misunderstood record of Fascist Italy's foreign policy. Briefly, the argument runs as follows. The main cause of the Second World War lies in the injustices of the settlements that issued from the First; to preserve the peace it was therefore necessary to revise those settlements. Mussolini's consistent

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advocacy of revisionism was the expression of intelligent realism combined with devotion to peace. But Italy was never able to overcome the blind obduracy of France and Britain. In the face of such unreasonableness and of the determination to encompass the destruction of Fascism, she had no choice but in association with Nazi Germany, likewise dedicated to reasonable revisionism. To be sure, German ambitions turned out to be somewhat extravagant. But Italy could not have foreseen this and, in any event, especially after the Abyssinian episode, she was left no alternative. Besides, like Italy, Germany had a clear understanding of the Communist danger. Thus, intervention in Spain, for example, was in reality a service to the Western powers. Even Italy's declaration of war in June, 1940, was not a stab in the back; it would give her a better opportunity to moderate German ruthlessness. But, blind to the last, Britain and America preferred to co-operate with the Soviet Union. The folly of this is amply proved by the outcome, the present enhanced position of Communism. America's responsibility is very large, for, as early as 1937, President Roosevelt was bent on war into which he skillfully maneuvered the country through luring Japan into attack. That the Axis had anything to do with bringing Russia into Europe is, naturally, never considered. This point of view is hardly novel and the house of Devin-Adair has given it faithful publicity. By way of comment this observation may suffice: interpretations of history will differ, but there are certain canons that the historian may not violate if he would lay a legitimate claim to the name. This book is history in the sense that Mussolini and Hitler expounded it; its only value lies in the evidence it provides that there are no bounds to distortion. Certain factual errors dwindle into insignificance by comparison. It should surprise no one that this book is most flimsily documented (the *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918–1945* are never even mentioned) and devoid of any bibliography.

René Albrecht-Carrié, *Barnard College, Columbia University*

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*Charles Morley*

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## SOVIET UNION

*Fritz T. Epstein*[1]

THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PRINCE A. M. KURBSKY AND TSAR IVAN IV OF RUSSIA, 1564–1579. Edited with a translation and notes by *J. L. I. Fennell,* Reader in Russian and Head of the Department of Slavonic Languages in the University of Nottingham. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1955, pp. xi, 275, $6.50.) Voluntary exile as an alternative to the acceptance of existing conditions is traditional in Russian history. In the sixteenth century a conspicuous example of this was the boyar Prince Andrei Kurbsky, military leader and adviser of Tsar Ivan Grozny, whose quarrel with his master's military-administrative practices led him to self-imposed exile in Lithuania. From there Kurbsky addressed five letters to the tsar, explaining his defection. These letters together with Ivan's replies constitute one of the important historical sources of this stormy period. Thus far the complete correspondence has been available only in Russian and German. J. L. I. Fennell's new and complete English translation, fully annotated and accompanied by appendixes, a bibliography, and an index, is, therefore, of great interest. The correspondence covers the years 1564–1579. This was the period of *oprichnina* when Ivan applied strong measures against the boyars. Kurbsky's criticisms of the tsar goaded that sensitive monarch to lengthy and enlightening refutations. The Fennell edition successfully conveys the spirit of the original. It deals boldly with the problems inherent in such an undertaking. In making the translation Fennell has generally preferred clarity and grace of style above the preservation of sentence structure and literal meaning. His judgment on such matters is scholarly and imaginative. The Russian text of the letters is presented on alternate pages with the English text so that departures from the original can be readily followed by those who read Russian; for others these changes are indicated by interpolation marks and footnotes. The new work is altogether of excellent quality and makes another basic Russian historical source available in English.

BICKFORD O'BRIEN, *University of California, Davis*

PETER THE GREAT. By *Constantin de Grunwald.* Translated from the French by *Viola Garvin.* (New York, Macmillan, 1956, pp. 224, $4.50.) The dynamic if often brutal figure who was the last tsar of Muscovy and the first emperor of Russia has been the subject of many studies in Russian and Western languages. In English, Eugene Schuyler's two-volume biography, over seventy years old, has yet to be superseded, though a fine short survey of Peter's life and work was published by B. H. Sumner in 1950. M. de Grunwald's book attempts no re-evaluation of Peter. His work consists mainly of a skillfully woven fabric of incidents and anecdotes. The author must have enjoyed writing it, and both student and general reader will enjoy

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reading it. However, it is a work of description rather than analysis; the student will learn little new, and the general reader will gain little sense of the historical significance of Peter's reign. Peter's accession to power comes on page 73. In previous chapters the author undertakes to show the defects of Russia's nobility, army, and church as potential instruments of autocratic change, and there is an account of the regency of Sophia. Most of the remainder deals with the building of St. Petersburg and the sense and nonsense with which the high society of the new capital busied itself, as seen by foreign diplomats. It is useful to be reminded that many Russian nobles did not mind when Peter cut off their beards. It is interesting that the fathers of the great generals Rumiantsev, Suvorov, and Kutuzov all served under Peter. It is entertaining to learn that the "Khan of the Kalmucks," being allotted inadequate expense money by the governor of Astrakhan, "attended a reception given by the High Admiral, grabbed a pie and went off with his interpreter to eat it in the Market Square, to the huge joy of passers-by." But perhaps two hundred pages of this is enough. The translator is to be credited with a smoothly constructed English version, marred chiefly by the misuse of the comma.

DONALD W. TREADGOLD, *University of Washington*

LABOUR POLICY IN THE USSR, 1917–1928. By *Margaret Dewar.* (London and New York, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1956, pp. viii, 286, $6.00.) This volume constitutes a thorough study of labor legislation during the first decade of Soviet power. Among the subjects treated are the role of trade unions under communism, the adjustment of labor disputes, wage determination, and the general problems of employment and unemployment. Appended is a very useful section of 118 pages summarizing the major labor decrees that were issued. The book impresses upon the reader the great importance of the pre-plan period for an understanding of current events in the Soviet Union. The policies followed with respect to the conscription and militarization of labor from 1918 to 1921 clearly presaged the stringent controls introduced shortly before World War II, which are just now beginning to be relaxed. There are many other parallels, and it may well be that the Russians themselves, in their present mood, will find much of interest in the debates on labor policy that took place during the NEP period. The chief merit of the study is that it assembles in a systematic and concise manner a great deal of material that is difficult to find. Its principal deficiency lies in the failure to probe very deeply beneath the formal legislative surface into the reality underneath. Events are evaluated largely through the eyes of contemporary Soviet observers. For example, in the discussion of wages (pp. 134–41), the author accepts uncritically the popular Soviet view that occupational and industrial wage differentials during the period 1925–1928 were completely chaotic and irrational. Perhaps they were, but neither the figures she cites nor the consideration given to the requirements of Soviet industry at the time provides any support for that conclusion. However, it would be most uncharitable to end on a critical note, for Mrs. Dewar's achievement is great and students of the Soviet economy are very much in her debt for lightening the burden of their work.

WALTER GALENSON, *University of California, Berkeley*

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## Near Eastern History

*Sidney Glazer*[1]

ZE STUDIÓW NAD IMPERIALIZMEM NIEMIECKIM (SPRAWA MISJI GEN. LIMANA VON SANDERS W TURCJI) [Studies on German Imperialism (the mission of General von Sanders in Turkey]. By *Jerzy Łukaszewski.* [Proceedings of the Historical-Philological Department, Learned Society of the Catholic University of Lublin, No. 14.] (Lublin, 1955, pp. 106.) The author has given "the affair of General

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Liman von Sanders' mission to Turkey" a Leninist interpretation: the general's appointment to reorganize the Turkish army was the decisive step of German imperialism toward the political subordination of Turkey. As Russia's economic interests in the Straits were thereby endangered, it produced an important international crisis which contributed to the outbreak of the war in 1914. This thesis, from the point of view of the "Leninist myth of imperialism," is of course forced. The author never really establishes the direct links that had supposedly existed between the mission and German financial capital penetration of the Near East; for, in fact, none existed. Moreover, he obfuscates the important facts in the crisis—Russia's designs on the Ottoman Empire. Russia was indeed provoked, but only because she was opposed to any strengthening of Turkish military power and regarded the activities of General Liman's mission at Constantinople as a threat to her ambitions in the Straits. But the international crisis was resolved through Germany's compromise of having Liman reassigned to other duties. Stripped of its Leninism, the book is palpably an anti-German tract and adds nothing new to our knowledge of the subject. Robert J. Kerner's articles on "The Mission of Liman von Sanders," in the *Slavonic Review*, 1927–28, probably are the most objective account of the "affair."

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# Far Eastern History

## EASTERN ASIA

*Hilary Conroy*[1]

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE YÜAN DYNASTY: TRANSLATION OF CHAPTERS 93 and 94 OF THE *YÜAN SHIH*. By *Herbert Franz Schurmann*. [Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, XVI.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1956, pp. xviii, 252, $3.50.) Schurmann's book is indicative of the growing endeavor to present in well-annotated translations the economic chapters (*chüan*) of China's dynastic histories. Among previous efforts of this kind may be mentioned the translations of the economic chapters of the histories of the early Han and Sui dynasties by Nancy Swann and Etienne Balazs. As a work of interpretation Dr. Schurmann's study supplements two postwar monographs on the Yüan dynasty, one by Herbert Franke dealing essentially with money and finance, and another by Peter Olbricht dealing with the state post. Chapters 93 to 97 of the *Yüan shih*, the official history of the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty (1206–1368), treat economic matters. Schurmann has translated 93 and 94, which deal with land tenure, land survey, agriculture and sericulture, land and head taxes, grain tax, household taxes, maritime transportation, currency, paper-currency system, annual monopoly taxes, salt monopoly, tea monopoly, liquor and vinegar tax, commercial tax, foreign trade, maritime trade, and non-quota taxes. The translation is careful, the annotation competently illuminating. Major problems of the text are discussed in introductions to the translations. Among the aspects of Yüan society which Schurmann considers fundamental, he lists first "the role of state power as a prime factor in the evolution of Chinese society" and "the influence of nomadic invasions and conquests on Chinese society." In a state-centered society of the Chinese type, the economics that mainly interested the "ruling intellectual bureaucracy" had a political and managerial quality. For the great Chinese institutionalists "economics meant primarily managerial economics, and the state, of course, was the great 'manager.'" Schurmann might have strengthened his study by drawing on annotated translations and institutional analyses of other Chinese conquest societies. As it stands, Schurmann's monograph is an excellent contribution to the study of an important period—and an important aspect—of Chinese institutional history. KARL A. WITTFOGEL, *Chinese History Project, New York*

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## SOUTHERN ASIA

*Cecil Hobbs*[1]

REFORMERS IN INDIA, 1793–1833: AN ACCOUNT OF THE WORK OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES ON BEHALF OF SOCIAL REFORM. By *Kenneth Ingham,* Senior Lecturer in History at Makerere College, University College of East Africa.

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(New York, Cambridge University Press, 1956, pp. xi, 150, $3.50.) Kenneth Ingham's *Reformers in India* is an account of the activities of British missionaries in bringing Western ideas and improvements to India, 1793–1833. Based largely on the manuscripts and publications of British missionary societies, the study somewhat overlooks missionaries from America and elsewhere. The result, nevertheless, is an excellent estimate of missionary work. The book is especially good in describing missionary education before Macaulay's minute in 1835, and Ingham rescues early Indian education from obscurity. Of course, the missionaries were not alone in introducing reforms in India; and in dealing with caste, idolatrous festivals, and "sati," Ingham correlates missionary activity with that of East India Company officials and shows the difficulties the missionaries had to surmount in pursuing their ultimate goal of Christianizing India. Ingham is perhaps not as successful in estimating missionary contributions to agriculture and medicine, for company officials did far more significant work than the missionaries. Similarly, in handling literature and languages, Ingham does not sufficiently credit men like Sir William Jones with transmitting Indian literature and learning nor Indians with developing their own vernacular languages. Nevertheless, Ingham's study is important for analyzing a hitherto neglected subject. GEORGE D. BEARCE, JR., *Bowdoin College*

INDONESIAN TRADE AND SOCIETY: ESSAYS IN ASIAN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY. By *J. C. van Leur*. [Selected Studies on Indonesia by Dutch Scholars, Volume I.] (The Hague, W. van Hoeve; distrib. by Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1955, pp. xxii, 465, $4.00.) This is volume one in a series of selected studies on Indonesia being designed and published by the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam under a grant from the Netherlands Organization for Pure Research, at The Hague. The basic purpose of the book is to bring together—for the first time in English—the significant writings of a Dutch scholar who has made an important contribution in the years past to a better understanding of certain aspects of Asian history and the historical relation between Europe and certain sectors of Asia. Employing the methodology of sociology and economic history developed by Max Weber, Dr. van Leur arrived at certain surprising and revolutionary conclusions. We find the author taking issue with the traditional Dutch colonial historians, and he would break loose from the Europe-centered view dominating Western historical writing on Asia. In the section dealing with early Asian trade, the reader is provided with new light on the Hinduization and the Islamization of Indonesia. The section entitled "The World of Southeast Asia: 1500–1650," is a rich storehouse of data dealing with varying aspects of early trade routes, Dutch East India Company, products traded, conflicts for power, and other topics. Approximately one third of the volume consists of bibliographical references and very extensive footnotes.

CECIL HOBBS, *Library of Congress*

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# United States History

*Wood Gray*[1]

## GENERAL

AMERICAN PARADOX: THE CONFLICT OF THOUGHT AND ACTION. By *Merle Curti.* (New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press, 1956, pp. ix, 116, $2.75.) In this brief volume of essays, comprising the Brown and Haley Lecture at the College of Puget Sound in 1955, Professor Curti turns his attention to the paradox mentioned in its title, the conflicting American attitudes toward thought and action. There has been, he points out, since the beginnings of American history, a basic bifurcation in our concepts of the thinker and doer. We fear the theorist, yet we spend millions on free schools; we distrust "eggheads," yet we prize education. The thread of anti-intellectualism that weaves through the pattern of our national past fits ill with the value that Americans have consistently placed on learning as a solution to most of our national problems. The roots of this conflict lie, the author suggests, deep in our history. The continuing frontier experience created in Americans a respect for the practical and pragmatic. Yet as children of the Enlightenment, with its belief in the potentialities of man, Americans have also traditionally displayed an abiding faith in the power of mind and thought. These two traditions need not, in Professor Curti's opinion, conflict to the detriment or exclusion of either. The solution lies in recognizing the validity of both, in putting both to use, and in resolving through understanding the apparent antagonism between intellectuality and practicality. The thinker and the doer must work in partnership, not in opposition, to the end that Americans may learn to use knowledge without fearing it. Professor Curti's remarks are, in the light of current biases against intellectualism, both timely and significant. Let us hope they have wide circulation. RUSSEL B. NYE, *Michigan State University*

MEMOIRS OF AMERICAN JEWS, 1775–1865. Volume III. By *Jacob Rader Marcus,* Director, American Jewish Archives; Adolph S. Ochs Professor of Jewish History, Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati. (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1956, pp. x, 430, $4.00.) The first two volumes of this valuable work, consisting of memoirs of nineteenth-century American Jews, were reviewed in the *American Historical Review* for April, 1956 (LXI, 656–57). To the comments made at that time, it should be added that this third volume contains the general index to the three volumes and eighteen additional memoirs of different lengths and varying degrees of general interest. Much of the material in this volume concerns the Civil War years and constitutes a valuable supplement to other accounts of this era. Several of the memoirs are taken from the diaries of Jews and Jewesses attached to the Southern cause; these offer striking evidence of the devotion and courage of their writers. The account of the imprisonment of Eugenia L. Phillips is particularly vivid. In many ways the most unusual of the included Civil War materials belongs here only by courtesy, for it is not the work of an American Jew. It is a series of letters to France by Salomon de Rothschild, a visitor to the United States between 1859 and 1861, reporting the steps toward war as seen through the eyes of a somewhat immature, but very thoughtful foreigner. Professor Marcus is to be thanked

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and congratulated on the completion of this useful collection of historical source materials.

JOSEPH L. BLAU, *Columbia University*

ELIAS HICKS, QUAKER LIBERAL. By *Bliss Forbush.* Foreword by Frederick B. Tolles. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1956, pp. xxii, 355, $5.50.) The recent rapprochement between the Orthodox and the Hicksite branches of the Society of Friends makes this biography of Elias Hicks especially timely. Indeed, the author seems at times to be trying to speak to the condition of the Quaker community today and to assure that the Hicksite contribution to a reunited tradition will not be submerged. But setting aside any special meaning that the book may have for the Society of Friends, the student of American religion will find this to be the best as well as the most detailed modern treatment of Hicks. It is more sympathetic than Rufus Jones's discussion in *The Later Periods of Quakerism;* it is based on more extensive use of manuscript materials, as well as more adequate investigation of the milieu in which Hicks lived, than Wilbur's biography of almost half a century ago. One cannot help wondering whether Hicks's involvement in the crisis of 1827 in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was not more direct than appears in this account—whether Hicks's friendship with John Comly did not affect the outcome more than this biography indicates. But all this is a matter of speculation, and Mr. Forbush has not gone beyond the available evidence. Eschewing speculative interpretation, he has organized effectively a large mass of detail so as to give an admirable picture both of Hicks and of the Quaker culture of the early decades of the Republic.

CONRAD WRIGHT, *Harvard Divinity School*

THROUGH THE SOUTH AND THE WEST WITH JEREMIAH EVARTS IN 1826. Edited by *J. Orin Oliphant,* Professor of History in Bucknell University. (Lewisburg, Pa., Bucknell University Press, 1956, pp. viii, 143, $2.60.) This short paper-backed publication contains excerpts from the journal and letters of the corresponding secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, recording his experiences and observations as he traveled from Boston to Charleston, South Carolina, to Georgia, thence to Memphis, and on up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers from January to June, 1826. Fresh insights and information about southern society and western river travel in the 1820's do not materialize; the documents are somewhat thin and add little to available knowledge. The editor, however, has done such a prodigious job of research and editing that his extensive biographical sketch of Jeremiah Evarts and his superb footnotes make the study a worthy one. Its value lies particularly in the masterful analysis of the well-springs of the nineteenth-century movement of Christian benevolence in Europe and America. Interest in "foreign missions" becomes a part of the general upsurge of American cultural nationalism. "As thus enlarged and exalted, this conception of national mission unfolded to the view of Protestant Americans as a twofold conception—that is, of the mission of America on the one hand, to be an example of freedom and democracy to the world, and of the mission of America on the other hand, to assume, when American wealth should transcend that of Great Britain, the major responsibility for the evangelization of peoples the world over." If America were to fulfill her double divine mission, obviously she had to be made completely Christian. Hence, the first appropriate step was the Christianizing of her Indian tribes. Evarts' tour was primarily an inspection of the various Indian mission schools that the American board had established in southeastern United States. His reports on the remarkable quality of the Creek and Cherokee civilizations are enlightening. The judgment, however, of most readers will be that the vital subjects discussed in this volume might have been served more adequately by a different

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title, the relegation of the documents to an appendix or to the footnotes, and the expansion of the editorial introductory sketch into a longer monograph on "American Protestant benevolence and beneficence as the emotional springs of action for the many-sided religious-humanitarian crusade for the reformation of America during the three decades immediately preceding our Civil War." With this excellent start it is to be hoped that Professor Oliphant will find it possible to produce just such an over-all study.

ALBERT V. HOUSE, *Harpur College*

LA VIE ET L'OEUVRE DE HENRY DE COURCY (1820–1861): PREMIER HISTORIEN DE L'EGLISE CATHOLIQUE AUX ETATS-UNIS. By *Robert Sylvain.* (Quebec, Presses universitaires Laval, 1955, pp. 347, $2.75.) Most students of the history of the Catholic Church in the United States will be surprised to hear Henry de Courcy listed by Frère Robert Sylvain as the first historian of the Catholic Church in the United States. That title is sometimes given to John Gilmary Shea, who assisted De Courcy and translated his history. Henry de Courcy was in fact a Breton businessman, the New York agent for a French glass manufacturing firm, whose interest in American Catholic history was accidental. His American history was originally letters to the *Univers* of Louis Veuillot. When Veuillot began to edit and change the letters they were published entirely in the *Minerve* of Montreal and later translated and published in book form with the help of Shea. De Courcy's account was based on the notes of Bishop Simon Bruté of Vincennes, letters from the Archives of Quebec, and the few American Catholic publications then available. In the first chapters of his book De Courcy seemed to share the admiration of many liberal French Catholics for the advantages of the church in a republic. But the activity of the Know-Nothings, and especially the sad occurrences during the visit of Archbishop Cajetan Bedini, as the legate of the pope to the United States in 1853–1854, shocked De Courcy. He left the United States in 1856 with a doubt about the possibility of reconciliation between republican government and the church. There seems to be a parallel between De Courcy's attitude toward American democracy during his ten years in the United States and the relations between French Catholicism and the contemporary French republican government. Frère Sylvain gives a brief but informative account of De Courcy's Breton background, of his associations with other Bretons in Paris before coming to the United States, and of his other publications. De Courcy had more in common with the French in the province of Quebec, yet his deep interest in the United States continued until his premature death from tuberculosis in 1861 at the age of forty-one. Frère Sylvain has given us a reliable account of De Courcy and at the same time by his sympathetic interpretation has made his history an important contemporary document, an eyewitness account of a contemporary Frenchman. His accounts of the relations between Orestes A. Brownson and Montalembert, and of De Courcy's interests in Canadian history are interesting. He has used recent American sources on the nativistic reaction to Catholicism and shows slight sympathy for the nativists, inclining in this to De Courcy's own feelings.

THOMAS T. MCAVOY, *University of Notre Dame*

CALEB CUSHING: ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, 1853–1857. By *Sister M. Michael Catherine Hodgson.* (Washington, D.C., Catholic University of America Press, 1955, pp. viii, 247, $2.75.) This study is a doctoral dissertation at the Catholic University of America, one of a series which examines "the development of the American presidency." "It is . . . an endeavor to define Cushing's position as Attorney General of the United States; to elucidate the relationship of this official to the President, and to determine the influence—if any—of Cushing on

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Franklin Pierce." Using the Cushing papers in the Library of Congress and the archives of Cushing's office (among other sources; there is an excellent bibliographical note), Sister Mary Michael has produced a much more detailed account of this phase of Cushing's life than that in C. M. Fuess, *Caleb Cushing* (2 vols., New York, 1923). In particular, she has digested a mass of opinions on the executive branch of the government which reflect the complications of an expanding government and the problems arising from the separation of powers. Cushing almost seems to have recognized the need for a systematic overhauling of a government which had evolved historically rather than logically. Unless, however, the quantity of opinions here extracted by the author are measured by some comparison, or given point by comment, they do not attain their full usefulness to the reader. Cushing made his office a full-time job for the first time; he wrote a history and an analysis of it; and he sought to elevate it to a full department of state. Whether he made it anything of special note vis-à-vis the Presidency, it is hard to say, but Cushing the propagandist and Cushing the political adviser were in constant contact with Franklin Pierce. Cushing's roles as anti-abolitionist, Anglophobe, expansionist are documented in this study.

WILLIAM B. HAMILTON, *Duke University*

GRAY FOX: ROBERT E. LEE AND THE CIVIL WAR. By *Burke Davis.* (New York, Rinehart, 1956, pp. xi, 466, $6.00.) In preparing this readable single-volume study of Lee, the author was prompted by two motives. The first of these was to retell, in concise form, the story of Lee's activities during the Civil War; the second and more difficult one was to reduce the Lee of mythology to flesh and blood terms. Because of the massive works already in existence on both the man and the war, Mr. Davis' account necessarily involves the retreading of many old familiar paths. However, this is an excellent summary of the war in the east and, as the title indicates, the traditional figure of Lee has been recast in a new mold, that of a crafty and wily commander who intuitively anticipated the enemy's moves. There is, also, a particularly keen description of the disintegration of the Army of Northern Virginia after Petersburg. The really unique feature of the book, however, results from the author's admirable efforts to penetrate the gray curtain of Lee's own reserve, to free the man from the legend. Several facets of Lee's almost enigmatic character emerge; a tenderness that easily melted into sentimentality; a nagging concern for the welfare of his three sons on duty with the army; an uncontrollable grief that could periodically cause him to weep bitterly; a muted sense of humor, offset by a potential for anguish that could lead to such depths of depression that he would talk of destroying himself; a petulant streak which led him to complain of neglect by the Confederate Congress or to scold his staff peevishly; and the savage eruptions of temper which caused more than one subordinate to endure the scathing effects of an angry tongue-lashing. All these things we see, yet the view is more in the nature of a peek than a panorama. For somehow, the total effect leaves something to be desired. There lingers the uneasy suspicion that the Gray Fox has done it again; that, by means of one of those deceptive movements which were his specialty, he has again maneuvered into some impregnable position from behind which he remains, as Benét said, still safe from the "picklocks of biographers." OTIS A. SINGLETARY, *University of Texas*

LINCOLN AND THE TOOLS OF WAR. By *Robert V. Bruce.* Foreword by Benjamin P. Thomas. (New York, Bobbs-Merrill, 1956, pp. xi, 368, $5.00.) Mr. Bruce's book is well titled. It is not a history of the operations of the Ordnance Departments of the United States during the war of 1861–1865, although it contains an immense amount of interesting information about them and the persons with whom they dealt. It is

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a study of the impact of Mr. Lincoln upon the development of weapons and munitions. As such it marks a real enlargement of our knowledge of the wartime President as well as a contribution to better understanding of the technological developments which played so large a part in the outcome of the war. The study vividly depicts the enthusiasms which Mr. Lincoln developed for some of the newer "tools of war," and also brings out sharply the distinct lack of enthusiasm with which many of his ideas were met by some of the old-line ordnance officers whose efforts to standardize and regularize weapons and ammunition were constantly being interfered with, as they saw it, by the amateur efforts of the commander in chief. Not all the President's powers were enough to secure the adoption of all his ideas but, as this study demonstrates, Mr. Lincoln played a large and hitherto unnoticed part in bringing about the introduction of the breech-loading rifle and the machine gun, to mention only the most important innovations. The work is thorough and broad ranging in its research and easy and readable in its writing. Numbered footnotes are replaced by an ingenious apparatus of references which conveniently identifies sources of information. ROBERT S. HENRY, *Alexandria, Virginia*

LINCOLN, HÉROS D'UN PEUPLE. By *Claude Aragonnès.* (Paris, Hachette, 1955, pp. 351, 850 fr.) In France Abraham Lincoln is "almost an unknown." Remembered vaguely as the emancipator of the slaves and the victim of an assassin, he has "not for a long while been the subject of a single book." Now Mlle. Claude Aragonnès has remedied the omission with an excellent biography, which should both stimulate French interest in our Civil War era and increase European understanding of the American political system. Mlle. Aragonnès has not written for an American audience, and her biography contains little that will be new to any informed Civil War student. *Lincoln: héros d'un peuple* is written in the French language, but not from a French perspective. On rare occasions Mlle. Aragonnès draws on her European background to offer some interesting insights. She suggests, for example, that the Northern cry, "On to Richmond!" in 1861 was like the French "A Berlin!" a decade later (p. 135) and notes (p. 222) that Lincoln's literary style remarkably resembled that of Péguy. But on the whole she has confined herself to providing a readable synthesis of recent American revisionist writings. Drawing heavily upon the books of Benjamin P. Thomas, J. G. Randall, Carl Sandburg, and T. Harry Williams, *Lincoln: héros d'un peuple* is in no sense an original contribution, and it is unfortunately marred by many factual slips. But for the French audience toward which this book is directed, Mlle. Aragonnès has performed a valuable service. Her spirited biography maintains a nice balance between Lincoln's personal life and his political problems. Clear, judicious, and, on the whole, reliable, her *Lincoln* provides for a foreign audience a moving portrait of the man and an introduction to his troubled times. DAVID DONALD, *Columbia University*

SICKLES THE INCREDIBLE. By *W. A. Swanberg.* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956, pp. xii, 433, $6.00.) For most readers Dan Sickles is an obscure character who suddenly emerged as a controversial figure in the battle of Gettysburg and then disappeared from view. Historians have long wondered why General Sickles without authorization moved his third corps forward from its position on Cemetery Ridge, thus endangering all of the Army of the Potomac. This unbelieveable act is made more understandable by this biography. Although the author does not satisfactorily explain Sickles' conduct at that particular moment, he makes it clear that rash and impulsive acts were to be expected of Sickles. Talented, intelligent, and rich in friends, Sickles could have gained renown in almost any career but for

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his lack of self-control, especially in affairs of the heart and financial matters, and a willfulness of conduct which often got him into scrapes with the law and outraged public opinion. His entire life of ninety-five years consisted of a series of unfortunate acts which marred if not ruined his reputation. The question arises, why write of a person whose life can be summed up as "foolish and glorious"? To learn more about the man who risked the fate of the Union in one questionable move is perhaps sufficient reason. In addition Dan Sickles was certainly a colorful character who kept constantly in the limelight as congressman, murderer of his wife's lover, general in the Union army, United States representative abroad, and leader in the fight to unseat Jay Gould from control of the Erie Railroad. Although this biography fails to offer any fresh interpretations of American history, it is a well-written account of a man who possessed a "truly adventurous spirit" and symbolized the buoyancy, the optimism, the impulsiveness, the self-righteousness, and the vanity of a young and lusty nation.

EDWIN B. CODDINGTON, *Lafayette College*

THE LIFE OF MATTHEW SIMPSON. By *Robert D. Clark*. (New York, Macmillan, 1956, pp. xi, 344, $5.50.) The life of Matthew Simpson carries us through the most critical epoch of the Methodist Episcopal Church and also introduces us to one of the most influential men in the American pulpit. His active career in the ministry extended from 1834 to his death exactly fifty years later. In this half century the Methodist Church emerged from the rather primitive frontier stage to gain a highly respected position among the denominations and second to none in its influence. This transformation was due more to Matthew Simpson than to any other person. The bishop wielded much influence not only in the church but also in the new Republican party. He was an intimate of Lincoln whose funeral oration he delivered. Also his associations were close with Grant, Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur. The non-Methodist press was critical of Simpson's interference in the patronage. The split in the Methodist Church over slavery and Simpson's impatience with the uncompromising spirit of the slaveholders gave a logical basis for his alliance with the Radical Republicans. He was a severe critic of Andrew Johnson and threw the weight of his denomination against him. After the war Simpson led an aggressive campaign against the M.E. Church South. Simpson's personal biography is fascinating reading. His decision to leave a medical career for the pulpit; his mastery of the classics and science; his brief career as a college professor at Allegheny; his presidency of Indiana Asbury (later DePauw University); his great eminence as a pulpit orator and preacher; the influence he wielded as a bishop of the most numerous Protestant denomination; the respect and prestige which he carried among political leaders and statesmen—all are challenging. And yet, the bishop looked anything but his part. He was small of stature, unimpressive in personality, awkward in mannerisms, careless in dress. His shrill, high voice made it necessary to win his audiences by sheer intellectual power. He was often in poor health. The readers of this book deserve a photographic likeness of this unusual man. Professor Clark has rehabilitated a long neglected figure—a churchman who, in an era of great leaders in his field, ranked among the first.

WESLEY M. GEWEHR, *University of Maryland*

STEPHEN BENTON ELKINS. By *Oscar Doane Lambert*. (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955, pp. 336, $6.00.) During the late nineteenth century, the United States was dominated by a breed of men who, with boundless energy, not only exploited the vast natural resources of our continent but also amassed great fortunes for themselves. A number of these men, variously called "captains of in-

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dustry," "robber barons," or "indispensable developers of the nation," turned to politics. Usually the Senate took their fancy—and the fancies of their wives, for Washington society was brilliant in the eighties and nineties. By McKinley's time there were so many millionaires in the upper house that it was commonly called "The Rich Man's Club." Of this select group, not yet of the inner circle, was Stephen Benton Elkins, a wealthy railroad and coal-mine operator from West Virginia. Typical of these senators, Elkins dovetailed his political ventures and his business dealings. For three campaigns he was a prominent leader of the Blaine cause and served as national committeeman. As a reward he was appointed Secretary of War under Harrison. In 1895 he was elected senator, and served for three terms. Of course, he championed McKinleyism. Later he took particular interest in railroad legislation (the Elkins Act, 1903, and the Mann-Elkins Act, 1910) and in rebuilding the merchant marine. A member of several important committees, he achieved reputation as a compromiser. In this first attempt at a full-length biography of Elkins, Mr. Lambert gives us a better account of the senator's business activities than of his political efforts. Apparently Mr. Lambert has spent far more time examining the Elkins papers than studying the well-known sources of political history. Consequently, he has neglected important political manipulations of the West Virginian. For example, he fails to recount Elkins' leadership of a group which at the convention of 1888 sought to nominate Joseph Benson Foraker, then the dashing young governor of Ohio. So too, he relies heavily on newspapers for his authorities in a day when newspapers reveled in political gossip. We could wish, furthermore, that Mr. Lambert had been less laudatory in describing Elkins. Finally, we might have wished for more careful organization in certain chapters of this otherwise commendable biography and for a few more glimpses of the man Elkins and his family. We are told little about his first wife, not much more about his second, and only the names of his children. Presumably the senator was a Presbyterian, but again we are not certain.

EVERETT WALTERS, *Ohio State University*

THE USE OF HISTORY IN THE DECISIONS OF THE SUPREME COURT: 1900–1930. By *John J. Daly* (Washington, D.C., Catholic University of America Press, 1954, pp. xv, 233, $2.50.) This is a somewhat positivistic study of historical interpretations and techniques in Supreme Court opinions between 1900 and 1930. The several justices, the author makes clear, resorted to historical inquiry on one occasion or another for a variety of purposes: to clarify the meaning or intent of a statute or constitutional provision by inquiry into the circumstances surrounding its adoption, to determine sound doctrine with respect to a disputed point of constitutional or administrative practice by investigation of past practice and authorities, or to determine historically the scope and meaning of a legal phrase. Not infrequently, historical inquiry proved to be the core of a critically important opinion. This was true, for example, in the Insular Cases (1901) and in Chief Justice Taft's famous inquiry into the history of the presidential removal power in *Myers* v. *United States* (1926). As might be expected, historical inquiry in a controversial case very often led the several justices to sharply contradictory conclusions. This was notably true of the Myers case, where Brandeis, a past master of historico-legal inquiry, wrote a ravaging dissenting analysis of Taft's argument. It is evident that the justices differed radically among themselves as to the theory, practice, and even the validity of historical techniques in the judicial process. Thus Brandeis used massive inquiry into socio-economic data to formulate generalizations which in turn became the very foundation of his judicial doctrines, while Taft and White made extensive use of legal and political history to establish past practice, which they generally regarded as

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conclusive for present purposes. On the other hand, Holmes, although he sometimes resorted to brief historical generalizations, as he did notably in *Missouri* v. *Holland* (1920), commonly derived his opinions from philosophy, law, and legal metaphysics, and more than once expressed open suspicion of dead historical precedent. In reality, however, this attitude in itself involved a repudiation of absolutes in favor of historical relativism—a more sophisticated view of the relation of history to legal doctrine than other justices commonly achieved.

ALFRED H. KELLY, *Wayne University*

CONGRESSIONAL POLITICS IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR. By *Roland Young*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1956, pp. 281, $4.50.) This is a useful study of congressional politics during World War II. The author, a professor of political science at Northwestern University, was a secretary of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee during part of the war. He indicates that while the President's powers were greatly increased during the war, "Congress did not become a rubber stamp." "The President emerged as the over-all planner of political and economic action, and the role of Congress was that of altering, amending, objecting, and substituting" (p. 5). Congress performed its role by "authorizing action in the form of law," "adjusting conflicts of interests," and by "exercising oversight over the execution of policy" (p. 219). The topically organized chapters deal with such subjects as price control, efforts to apply the principle of "equality of sacrifice," labor and farm policies, selective service, taxes, control of profits, military alliances, foreign affairs, and reconversion. Professor Young makes it very clear that politics were not adjourned in Congress during the war. While he recognizes the necessity for expanding executive power during time of war, he is interested in the effort to build and maintain congressional power. The book is written in a clear and dispassionate style. It includes an appendix analyzing the degree of party voting of the two major parties and of individual members in Congress. Though his breakdown of voting by party is useful, he does not provide adequate voting analyses in terms of sections or group interests. The book does not contain a bibliography. If the footnotes are an indication, the research for the volume was limited largely to the *Congressional Record*. There is little or no reference to committee hearings, manuscripts, newspapers, or magazines, and only scattered references to a few secondary accounts and memoirs. The book is an important introduction to a subject which calls for additional research in depth.

WAYNE S. COLE, *Iowa State College*

GLOBAL LOGISTICS AND STRATEGY: 1940–1943. By *Richard M. Leighton* and *Robert W. Coakley*. [U. S. Army in World War II: The War Department.] (Washington, D.C., Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1956, pp. xxii, 780, $6.25.) This volume—the first of two—links in an organic relationship the two themes of its title, "global logistics" and "strategy." The first theme, as the foreword puts it, covers "the performance by the Army of the task of effecting the orderly assembly, movement and delivery of great masses of men and matériel throughout the world." The needs met covered those of the American Army and in part those of the Allies. The book shows in a vivid and compelling way how global strategy was circumscribed and shaped by these immensely complex and difficult problems of "assembly, movement and delivery." This chaotic jungle of particulars had meaning in the war, and afterwards, for the student of history, only from one central viewpoint—that of the high command and staffs in Washington. But even from that high eminence the meaning of the experience can never have been nearly so clear as the authors have made it in this lucid and masterly account. Part I covers the

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neutrality period, down to Pearl Harbor. Part II deals with the critical months after Pearl Harbor. Part III, "The Emergence of Policy and Method," describes and assesses the painful effort of 1942–1943 to provide an orderly basis and methods for the logistics of a strategy not yet determined. Part IV is concerned with the build-up for the early offensives. Part V is on theaters of foreign aid—the British Commonwealth, East and South Asia, and Russia. Part VI carries the story through Casablanca to the middle of 1943. So wide is the sweep of the history and so closely are supply and transport related to strategy that an understanding of the general character of the war could be obtained from this study as well as anywhere. The authors of this authoritative and penetrating book have made effective use of the masses of high level papers open to them, and their handling of the material inspires confidence. The study is probably the best in its field that has appeared in any country. It has lessons of lasting importance for a variety of readers—including students of history, of economics, of geography, of international politics, and of military problems—both here and abroad. One incidental value of the book is the flood of light it throws for foreigners on the nature and working of the American system—its ability to face and solve problems of organization on the largest scale, the tremendous release of energies which the call of duty brings about, the initial confusion of unco-ordinated individual and group effort, and the bringing of order out of confusion as a result of the sense of duty and acceptance of the goals of the Union. H. DUNCAN HALL, *Washington, D. C.*

THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION: ITS PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE. Edited by *Louis W. Koenig.* (New York, New York University Press, 1956, pp. xii, 394, $5.50.) Here is a useful addition to the growing Truman literature. The editor, a professor of government, is a student of the Presidency, and it is from this perspective that he has set his sights upon the doughty Missourian. The title of his book is misleading, for this is in no sense a history of the Truman administration. It is, rather, a summation of the President's public statements concerning his office and its problems. It takes the form of selected addresses, smoothly joined by brief background and explanatory comments by the editor. The book is organized around the principal functions of the chief executive. Through his public utterances, Truman's views are presented on such matters as Presidential power, labor legislation, social security, loyalty programs, atomic energy, foreign affairs, the United Nations, the cold war, and Korea. By and large, these represent a forceful restatement of the Roosevelt policies. The chief limitation of the book is the fact that only public statements are drawn upon; no use has been made of private correspondence or conversations. Until these have been made available, the picture cannot be complete. Within the bounds of his materials, it may be said that the editor has conceived and produced a sound and readable study. THOMAS H. GREER, *Michigan State University*

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## NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

DELINQUENT SAINTS: DISCIPLINARY ACTION IN THE EARLY CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES OF MASSACHUSETTS. By *Emil Oberholzer, Jr.* [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 590.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1956, pp. x, 379, $6.00.) Studies of Puritan delinquency are badly needed. Dr. Oberholzer breaks new ground in relating Puritan norms to correctional procedures of individual churches. His impressive doctoral labors include dredging masses of unutilized church records. He restricts himself to simple classifications, e.g., heresy, marital discords, sex crimes, business ethics. Other than on theology, he does not pose basic questions that would require many documents besides church records. The disappointing result is the usual fruit of earmarking particular documents as the orbit of a thesis. Social-science thinking is problem thinking; it must include whatever evidence the problem requires. Sociological and psychological approaches needed for explanation of servant-girl delinquency and slave responses are ignored. Causal explanation of types of delinquency is scanty. Fornication statistics, however, supplement previous studies and support C. F. Adams' view that the Great Awakening was, with some, a sexual awakening. Kinsey, while mentioned, is not checked on his hypothesis of differences in sex behavior of social groups and differences in behavior of the two sexes. Nor is use made of theories in Max Weber's *Religionssoziologie* and H. C. Lea's *Auricular Confession* that relate sex behavior and other patterns of different social classes to changes in European morals, though both Weber and Lea are mentioned. Journals like *Psychiatry* (e.g., I, 55–65, Kingsley Davis on the Protestant syndrome), contemporary analyses like A. K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys,* and especially historical critiques like Svend Ranulf, *Moral Indignation and Middle Class Psychology,* analyzing Calvinism, Puritanism, and medieval Catholicism, could have posed basic problems: self-contradictions in Puritan moralism, clashing motivation patterns of middle and lower classes, social resentment and aggressive behavior, and the touchy problem of guilt feelings, delinquency, and appropriate psychological release. Dr. Oberholzer, inspired by the lively thinking from Union Theological Seminary, makes a contribution on the history of church labors to redeem sinners. He shows that compassion somewhat tempered the dire mechanism of public stigmatization: the pressure of church censure and excommunication from church fellowship often forced confession before the whole congregation; but repentance brought readmission.

S. H. BROCKUNIER, *Wesleyan University*

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THOSE WHO ATTENDED HARVARD COLLEGE IN THE CLASSES 1731–1735, WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER NOTES. By *Clifford K. Shipton.* [Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Volume IX.] (Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1956, pp. xv, 659, $7.50.) Since publication of this valuable series of biographies was resumed in 1933 under the authorship of C. K. Shipton, of Harvard and the American Antiquarian Society, the volumes of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* have revealed depth of investigation, charming style, and an inclination toward emphatic opinions. The present volume disappoints none of these expectations. In this and the preceding volume Mr. Shipton has been plowing through relatively dull years in the history of colonial New England and Harvard. By way of real commotion there was little besides the Great Awakening for Harvard men to

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get involved in from the early 1720's until the Stamp Act crisis. Several members of the classes 1731–1735 do live, however, to participate in the Revolution and a few of them assume distinction as a result. About the Awakening and the Revolution Mr. Shipton has pronounced views, and although readers may find them several degrees off from their own conceptions, Mr. Shipton's judgments lend dimension and liveliness without inflicting grave damage. Mr. Shipton regards the New Lights with distaste, and when he finds a sober man among them he responds with rather haughty surprise. He indulges the Tories, yet he is not unjust to the Whigs, although obviously he finds Whiggery less interesting. Fair estimations of men, if not always of movements, characterize these sketches, and men are Mr. Shipton's major business here. Among the notables described are the Tory General Timothy Ruggles, the diarist Samuel Curwen, Professor John Winthrop, the rollicking vagabond Tom Bell, and Squire John Phillips. Lesser men abound to whom Mr. Shipton rightly gives full attention because their lives afford important information of a homely sort. When the author says no more is known about one of his subjects, we believe him. About most of these men no more can or need be said. Certainly nothing more ever will be said in a pleasanter fashion. LAWRENCE G. LAVENGOOD, *Northwestern University*

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY: A CENTENNIAL HISTORY. By *Walter Muir Whitehill,* Director and Librarian, Boston Athenaeum. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1956, pp. vii, 274, $4.75.) The Boston Athenaeum director accords it a privilege that he was given the opportunity of exploring and recounting "the family history and background of that old friend," the Boston Public Library, in which he served his library apprenticeship. In the infancy of the Public Library, the Athenaeum declined offers of marriage. Yet, the relationship of these institutions remained a happy one—never happier, however, than in the present circumstance. It will be a source of hearty and continuing gratification to the Public Library that Mr. Whitehill accepted the invitation to write its centennial history. The centenary of this library is also the centenary of the public library movement in America. Mr. Whitehill's book is a distinguished contribution to library literature. Though an institutional history, it is unlimited by parochial boundaries because he was aware of this library's prodromal significance for library development in general. A principle virtue of this history is that it is written with concinnity and humor. Thus, when the library trustees in 1887 contracted with McKim, Mead and White as architects for a new building, one board member, unreconciled to the choice, stated "clearly but uncivilly: 'I feel myself entirely released from any responsibility in regard to the construction of the building.' He did not feel free, however, to refrain from impeding and harassing his colleagues whenever possible." All the book's excellence cannot be attributed to the author; he had good material with which to work. An example is the fable, "How a steamer went to sea without a captain," published ten years earlier by the Boston *Sunday Herald,* in sharp criticism of trustee directorship of all library activities. (Would that editors today evidenced similar intelligent interest in their city libraries!) By discriminating selection and critical interpretation, Mr. Whitehill demonstrates complete mastery of his subject. He has traced the sequence and observed the consequence of one of Boston's crowning glories in a short, but thorough, account.

ROBERT H. LAND, *Library of Congress*

ELIAS BOUDINOT'S JOURNEY TO BOSTON IN 1809. Edited by *Milton Halsey Thomas.* (Princeton, Princeton University Library, 1955, pp. xiii, 97, $3.50.) Aside from a harrowing four-hour crossing of the Hudson and occasional attacks of gout, seventy-year-old Elias Boudinot thoroughly enjoyed his trip by coach-and-four from

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his New Jersey manse to Boston in the summer of 1809. The immense satisfaction which the Revolutionary patriot found in viewing the prosperity and industry of the eastern seaboard is echoed on almost every page of his journal. Collectors of Americana will delight in Boudinot's descriptions of turnpikes, mills, taverns, and homes. Revolutionary days had left Boudinot with a host of friends among the close-knit circle of New England Federalists so that he entered freely into their social and intellectual life upon his arrival in New Haven and Boston. The editor has added generous footnotes as a guide to the maze created by the commercial and marriage alliances of this eastern elite. In addition to biographical data, scholars will find Boudinot's journal a valuable testimonial to the state of New England Unitarianism in its dawning moments. Boudinot, an orthodox Calvinist and a founder of the American Bible Society, looked constantly for signs of this new heresy and to his own satisfaction concluded that the more substantial citizenry had not fallen into error and that at worst the movement had been driven underground by respectability.

STEPHEN G. KURTZ, *Wabash College*

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE INDIAN STREAM TERRITORY. By *Roger Hamilton Brown.* (Cleveland, Western Reserve University Press, 1955, pp. ix, 104.) This little volume is an able case study of the harmful influence of land speculators upon the growth of a border community. Operating in the northern tip of New Hampshire and profiting from the unsettled boundary, land speculators in the 1790's got from Indians large, overlapping, illegal deeds which they long sought to have validated. The intrigues of these unscrupulous promoters muddled New Hampshire politics, retarded settlement, and invited international complications. Consequently in 1832 victimized settlers established the Indian Stream Republic pending determination of the international boundary. Border incidents in 1835 impelled New Hampshire to assimilate the "republic" to protect her territorial claims against Britain.

CLARENCE W. RIFE, *Hamline University*

SMALL BUSINESS IN BRASS FABRICATING: THE SMITH & GRIGGS MANUFACTURING CO. OF WATERBURY. By *Theodore F. Marburg,* Professor of Economics, Hamline University. (New York, New York University Press, 1956, pp. xii, 116, $5.00.) This competent essay records the seventy-one-year life cycle of a small business. Smith & Griggs—founded, 1865; failed, 1936—reported net earnings for all but six years of its existence, and failed because of incompetent management. The author, an economist, provides an adequate historical profile of the company and an expert reconstruction of its balance sheets. He emphasizes failure to reinvest earnings as the key to its inability to expand or even hold its business; reinvestment, he concludes, reflected "the degree to which innovation was occurring." Documentation of the work reflects not only complete use of well-preserved business records but extensive notice of literature in economic history and theory—research sufficiently thorough to support a more ambitious study. The volume, in which the vocabulary employed and the questions raised are those of the "entrepreneurial" school, is the fourth issued in the "Business History Series" edited by Ralph W. Hidy.

ROBERT A. LIVELY, *Princeton University*

GATEWAY TO A NATION: THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION. By *D. G. Brinton Thompson,* Northam Professor of History, Trinity College, Hartford. (Rindge, N.H., Richard R. Smith, 1956, pp. 274, $3.50.) Measured against the high promise of Professor Nevins' suggestive foreword, this little volume quite fails to achieve its goal.

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Ostensibly a pioneering attempt to do for the Middle States as a section what has long since been done for the South or New England, it actually makes no contribution worthy of scholarly notice. The book purports to survey the history of the section comprising the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware from the time of the first settlements until 1916. But the approach throughout is to deal with each state as a distinct entity; there is no attempt to integrate, to interpret, to establish sectional patterns. Pennsylvania and New York get heavy emphasis, to the neglect of the remainder of the region, and most of the text concerns politics and personalities. Here, then, is an opportunity missed, and the need for a history of the Middle States remains as urgent as before.

RICHARD P. MCCORMICK, *Rutgers University*

THE PROVINCE OF WEST NEW JERSEY, 1609–1702: A HISTORY OF THE ORIGINS OF AN AMERICAN COLONY. By *John E. Pomfret.* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1956, pp. xii, 298, $5.00.) The Princeton "History of New Jersey" series here goes back to the seventeenth-century years, before the Jersies were united under royal government. Essentially it is the account of the Delaware River settlements, closely connected in the later stages with the development of Pennsylvania on the west bank. Originally sparsely occupied by the Dutch, principally under the aegis of the Dutch West India Company, West Jersey as part of New Netherlands aroused slight interest. In 1638 a combined Swedish-Dutch move to circumvent the Dutch West India Company brought Swedes to the Delaware to become the first permanent white settlers. Because Holland and Sweden were on good terms and united by opposition to the English the settlement was not seriously molested by the Dutch until Stuyvesant's time, when the colony, never very prosperous and largely on the west bank rather than the east, was retaken by the Dutch. Until the English began to arrive in 1675 the majority of the population remained Swedish, enjoying freedom of conscience and dreams of return to Swedish rule. Under the English, West Jersey developed quite separately from East Jersey until the proprietaries were absorbed by the crown. Dr. Pomfret unravels the tangled account of the Quaker proprietors, whose early advocacy of social and political freedom receives deserved emphasis, along with less altruistic problems of property rights, the struggle for recognition of the right to govern, and interminable changes in the proprietary personnel. It is no wonder that the history of colonial New Jersey has been so often treated vaguely. Too little was formerly known of the role of men like Fenwick, and Byllynge, and of William Penn's action in American affairs prior to Pennsylvania's settlement. It is good to have the admirable selection of descriptions of West Jersey, which appears as a remarkably ideal and idealistic colony, homogeneous in religion, prosperous and orderly despite the quarrels of its leaders, and in contrast to the misleading chapter titles that refer to collapse and disintegration. Though generally clear, the account is by no means facile; the author shows little gift for general statement. His subject matter illustrates the important contribution localized details make toward understanding the history of the country as a whole, but much of it reads like a direct transcript from the sources, the burden of disparate detail too often neither sorted into subjects nor relieved by interpretation. Nevertheless, for such an early era and for so confused a history as West Jersey's, this careful and exhaustive monograph is more than one could fairly wish for, and its publisher has given it an attractive format.

G. M. WALLER, *Butler University*

AN OLD FAITH IN THE NEW WORLD: PORTRAIT OF SHEARITH ISRAEL, 1654–1954. By *David* and *Tamar de Sola Pool.* (New York, Columbia University

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Press, 1955, pp. xviii, 595, $15.00.) Among the numerous publications stimulated by the American Jewish Tercentenary celebrations of 1954 the present volume occupies a unique place. The Spanish-Portuguese congregation Shearith Israel of New York has celebrated a tercentenary of its own, because it was its foundation in 1654 which marked the beginning of organized Jewish community life in North America. Its history has long been overdue, and American scholarship is deeply indebted to the authors for presenting this detailed, well-documented, and beautifully illustrated story. Dr. Pool writes here as a historian, as well as eyewitness and active participant. In his previous publications he has often dealt with this congregation, which he has served as minister since 1907. For example, in *Portraits Etched in Stone* (New York, 1952), based on the tombstones extant in the former congregational cemetery, he presented a number of biographical sketches of its early members during the period 1682–1831. In the present volume he and Mrs. Pool have made further good use of the congregational archives, excerpts from which are quoted very frequently and lend the volume a documentary character. The appendix includes reprints of the two early constitutions of 1728 and 1761, and a detailed list of leading officials and ministers who had served the congregation since 1702. Not surprisingly the main emphasis is laid on the first hundred and seventy years, when Shearith Israel was the only Jewish congregation in New York and thus served the entire Jewish population. The more variegated, sometimes chaotic developments of the New York community, which has since become the greatest Jewish settlement in history, are illustrated here only from strictly congregational angles. This self-restraint is doubly remarkable as both authors have been very active in Jewish communal life on a national scale and possess many insights and ample documentation with which to work. None the less they have succeeded in accomplishing their main purpose of showing that "Shearith Israel's organic growth and its place in the community of which it is a part are a bright and significant commentary on the spirit of America."

SALO W. BARON, *Columbia University*

THE GENTLEMAN AND THE TIGER: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF GEORGE B. McCLELLAN, JR. Edited from the original manuscript in the possession of the New-York Historical Society by *Harold C. Syrett.* (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott, 1956, pp. 375, $6.00.) Such is the corruption of the language that to describe George B. McClellan, Jr., as "a gentlemen's gentleman" would seem libelous. Yet to gentlemen of his day he was the gentleman par excellence, Tammany affiliations and all. If there be a paradox in *The Gentleman and the Tiger,* Mr. Syrett resolves it skillfully and artfully in his illuminating thirty-nine-page introduction. As he suggests, McClellan had not one but many careers—Tammany sachem, alderman, congressman, mayor of New York, soldier, author, and teacher. His interest in politics stemmed partly from a highly developed sense of noblesse oblige and partly from an ardent desire to vindicate his father's memory. "He did not decide to become a democrat; he was a democrat," although a conservative one, holding strictly to the view that reform should never be "confused with the state's responsibility to maintain law and order." He "didn't wish to change Tammany Hall and it never entered his thoughts that Tammany Hall could change him." That he probably was correct is indicated by the fact that after his break with Murphy he never held public office again. As printed, the hitherto unpublished autobiography is condensed by one third from some seven hundred pages of typescript, with the thirty-five original chapters telescoped into seventeen. Its strength lies in its pungent analysis of the personalities with whom McClellan came into contact, chiefly at the turn of the century. But as is usual in such cases, the author unintentionally reveals even more about himself than about others. McClellan

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emerges as an able, conscientious, cultivated, conservative, somewhat cynical, frustrated man who lived politically and privately in his father's shadow, both to his benefit and to his detriment. The editing is scrupulous. Omissions, consisting of material of less than general interest, are carefully indicated, as are some minor changes in the order of presentation. The footnotes reveal careful checking and contain considerable supplementary information. Unfortunately the stimulating biographical sketch and McClellan's own intriguing text, with the light it throws on life with father, or at least its effects, City Hall, Princeton, and gentility, deserve a better index.

CHARLES R. WILSON, *Colgate University*

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## SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

COUNTY COURT RECORDS OF ACCOMACK-NORTHAMPTON, VIRGINIA, 1632–1640. Edited by *Susie M. Ames,* Associate Professor of History, Randolph-Macon Woman's College. With a Prefatory Note by *Francis S. Philbrick,* University of Pennsylvania Law School. [American Legal Records, Volume VII.] (Washington, American Historical Association, 1954, pp. lxix, 189, $7.50.) The materials included in this volume are the oldest that have appeared in the "American Legal Records" series and are among the oldest local records of any part of British America. They portray faithfully the life of Eastern Shore Virginia during this early period. The commissioners of the monthly court, says the editor, "were confronted by a great and challenging task, that of enforcing the law and of helping to make new laws so that the safety and welfare of all might be secured. Men of integrity and of fairly wide interests and experience," they took their duties seriously and performed them well. They "put the court system on a high plane of service," and in so doing they helped to develop the leadership of responsible citizens for which Virginia was to become famous. The local society mirrored is rural and homely. The actions relate largely to the three important factors in the economic and social life of the people: land, labor, and vessels. To accomplish anything in that day a man must own land. Labor—free, indentured, or slave—was required to make use of the land. Vessels were essential for travel and transportation. Light is thrown on many other phases of life: Indian relations, morals, the failure of the Anglican rectors to receive their pay, and many other matters. Dr. Ames has done a superb work of editing. Her detailed introduction seems to supply all the information that could be desired, based both upon a knowledge of law and also upon great familiarity with the early history of the Eastern Shore of Virginia. A prefatory note by Dr. Francis S. Philbrick provides the general setting; a subject index and an index of persons add to the usefulness of the volume.

CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN, *North Carolina Department of Archives and History*

THE VIRGINIA TRADITION. By *Marshall W. Fishwick.* Introduction by *Henry Beston.* (Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1956, pp. vi, 111, $2.50.) Virginia is the American state in whose past there is the most interest. For this reason, perhaps more books have been written about it than about any other southern state. These books have many readers, but most of them are not Virginians. This may be because the state's historians put hard facts before legendary belief and thereby construct a version of reality that is disillusioning to those who love their state. A brilliant researcher, for example, states that social life in Virginia before the Civil War was not what it is supposed to have been—that all ante-bellum maidens did not have wasp waists and did not stand on colonnaded porches attended by mammies who did not have wasp waists. Mr. Fishwick, in his lively and tolerant appraisal of Virginia, does not sacrifice facts but he does not disparage legend. He thinks that what we believe about our ancestors is as important as what they actually accomplished. He asserts convincingly that that definite entity known as Virginia is based on what Virginians think about themselves. In the vein of his mentor, James Branch Cabell, Mr. Fishwick treats the attitudes of Virginians with an entertaining and semi-humorous irony. He, it is true, includes in his study many of the facts and figures dear to the conventional historians and economists, but he does not let such horrendous material stop the flow of his narrative. The author does not tell all that we would like to know about the South's most famous state. But he flashes light on so many aspects of the Virginia faith that the reader closes this book with the feeling that he has read the best one-volume presentation of Virginia's past and present. The chapter on the influence of Sir Walter Scott, called "The Cavalier Eden," is social criticism of the highest order. The chapter called "The Horsy Set" has a delightful biography of General

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Lee's war horse; it is hilarious without being disrespectful. "The Grin and the Mask" throws more light on interracial relations than do all the didactic tomes of native and alien writers who are more interested in modifying than in explaining the South's peculiar race problem. FRANCIS B. SIMKINS, *Longwood College*

RIVER OF THE CAROLINAS: THE SANTEE. By *Henry Savage, Jr.* [Rivers of America.] (New York, Rinehart, 1956, pp. x, 435, $5.00.) This fifty-first volume in Rinehart's ever-expanding "Rivers of America" series is primarily a history of the South Carolina low country, nearly half of it devoted to the colonial era. But since the Santee, in itself a short river, is fed by streams such as the Broad and the Catawba that run deep into the North Carolina Piedmont, that area and sections of up-country South Carolina are included. Most of the expected is here told with detailed accuracy and an easy literary style: the founding of Charles Town, the expansion to the west, pirates and Huguenots, regulators and rice planters, the Swamp Fox and Old Hickory, King Cotton, the war and "Damnation and Redemption." Lamar Dodd's line drawings illustrate much of the familiar: marshes, palmettos, moss-draped live oaks, a textile mill, Charleston's St. Michael's. But while the author's affection for his native state is everywhere evident, he is mindful of her shortcomings and willing to interpret the reasons why local events changed the course of history. To Mr. Savage, John C. Calhoun is not the untarnished hero Carolinians acknowledge him to be. Instead, the "ambitious, self-confident" Calhoun would "readily change even his basic political tenets" to be President of the United States, finally dashing himself to pieces "trying to move against the inexorable evolution of modern society." Equally reprehensible was the rush to a cotton culture that was to sweep away many of the old ideas and local leaders. While Mr. Savage does not go into details on present-day life in the Santee watershed, he is confident that great strides have been taken, that "everything [is] on the move." His optimism about the future is reflected in his attitude toward the past. WILLIAM E. STOKES, JR., *University of Virginia*

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## WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

EVERY HOUSE A FRONTIER: DETROIT'S ECONOMIC PROGRESS, 1815–1825. By *Floyd Russell Dain*. (Detroit, Wayne University Press, 1956, pp. vii, 168, $3.50.) This volume is essentially a master's thesis presented to the graduate council of Wayne University. It is based in part on numerous unpublished manuscripts (most of which are found in the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library) but also on government documents, contemporary newspapers, periodicals, books, and pamphlets. Pertinent scholarly articles and monographs have also been consulted. The title is derived from a statement made in February, 1815, by Duncan McArthur, then commandant at Detroit (and later congressman and governor of Ohio) in a communication to James Monroe, Secretary of War, "Every house in the territory of Michigan is a frontier, there are no back settlements nor will the country admit of any." The volume traces carefully the economic progress of a decade which drastically changed this situation. Hardships from Indian raids and from the policies of British military authorities had come with the War of 1812. Agriculture was in a primitive state, for the chief economic interest had been the fur trade, the garrison having been practically the only outlet for farm produce. Transportation on Lake Erie was dangerous and unreliable, and land transportation to Ohio was extremely difficult, the "Black Swamp" constituting merely one of the hazards. Little was known of the hinterland of Michigan, and there was a widespread belief that it was unattractive and lacking in fertility. Gradually improvements in roads and lake transportation and finally the opening of the Erie Canal, along with more favorable land laws, better banking facilities, Indian cessions, and more favorable information regarding the interior facilitated progress. By 1825, ambitious Yankees had settled in some numbers, accomplishing "the deliverance of Detroit from many of the economic bonds which had thwarted its development for more than a century." The study, although severely restricted in scope and presenting necessarily some material that is well known, is a further illustration of the dependence of scholars upon university presses to make available much of the significant fruits of careful research.

FRANCIS P. WEISENBURGER, *Ohio State University*

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THE DIARY OF ELISABETH KOREN, 1853–1855. Translated and edited by *David T. Nelson*. (Northfield, Minn., Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1955, pp. xviii, 381, $5.00.) This diary is another volume in the considerable library already published by the Norwegian-American Historical Association with the aim of throwing light on the experiences of one national element in the making of the United States. The author was the wife of the Reverend Ulrik Vilhelm Koren, for more than half a century one of the most influential churchmen among the Norwegians of the Middle West. She came from a cultured home in Norway and was only twenty-one years old when she began life on the Iowa frontier with her newly ordained husband. Her diary, supplemented by various letters, covers her first two "years of transition" from the Old World to the New, September, 1853–October, 1855. The material was, of course, not written for publication and hence does not attempt to give any wise reflections on American life in general but confines itself largely to the immediate little world with which the alert, sensitive young woman came in contact. And much is crowded into these two years: a rough passage across the Atlantic which lasted almost ten weeks and took many lives; contact with "the rush and bustle of New York" and its many strange sights; the interesting but uncomfortable railroad trip from New York to Chicago; visits with friends in the Norwegian settlement in Wisconsin; the long, rough winter trip in a crude wagon from eastern Wisconsin to north-central Iowa during which the young couple spent their nights in wayside taverns which served a wealthy variety of foods and bad coffee; life in hastily improvised log cabins which failed to keep out either rain or cold; associations with fellow-countrymen that in many respects seemed like strangers to the young pastor's wife who had just come from Norway, where class distinctions were still quite marked; the joy of planning for their own home and the future church. These and many other matters are recorded in the diary. While the present-day reader could wish for more concrete material dealing with the actual building of a new community and less purely personal musings and reveries on the part of the author, the diary still gives much interesting information about life in a frontier settlement a century ago. Professor Nelson has rendered the diary into readable English and has supplied it with excellent notes which clarify practically every obscure reference in the text. C. A. CLAUSEN, *St. Olaf College*

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES. Volume XXI, THE TERRITORY OF ARKANSAS, 1829–1836 (Continued). Compiled and edited by *Clarence Edwin Carter*. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1954, pp. v, 1415.) This is the last of the three volumes containing the official papers of the Territory of Arkansas. It covers the first and the second administrations of Governor Pope and the administration of Governor Fulton. The years are 1829 to 1836. There are 1,257 pages of documentary material and a double columned index of 154 pages. The arrangement is chronological. The documents relate especially to Indian problems, land surveys, land sales, land titles, political appointments, political controversies, the establishment of mail routes and post offices, the laying out and building of roads, and the clearing of river channels. There are many petitions from citizens, with long lists of signatures, as well as many petitions from the Territorial Assembly, making requests for appropriations for road building and other public improvements. The incidental information found in the papers, such as prices, problems of travel and transportation, and sidelights on modes of living, add much to the value of the collection. The papers are drawn from the files of the various departments of the national government. The work of selecting and editing measures up to the high standard set

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in the previous volumes. This volume together with the two preceding volumes makes easily accessible, for the first time, an abundance of source material covering the entire territorial period. They will be welcomed by reference librarians and by students, as well as by casual readers who may be interested in the early history of the state.

JAMES HARRIS ATKINSON, *Little Rock Junior College*

LA VÉRENDRYE: FUR TRADER AND EXPLORER. By *Nellis M. Crouse.* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1956, pp. ix, 247, $4.00.) This is a straightforward and workmanlike biography of Pierre de la Vérendrye, one of the greatest of those French-Canadian explorers of the unknown lands that lay to the west of the Great Lakes. The farthest west and southwest that Vérendrye himself reached was in 1738 when he marched, with what he hoped was an impressive military display, into the village of the Mantannes, just north of the Missouri in North Dakota, but his sons, Louis-Joseph and François, probably in 1743 came in sight of the Big Horn Range in Wyoming. For Maurepas, minister of marine in Paris, all these expeditions must be directed to one end, the discovery of the Great River of the West, which would lead the French down to the Western Sea—not the same as the Sea of the South or the Pacific, over which the Spaniards had long sailed. It was of course a nonexistent river and a mythical ocean, but it was more than a mere explorer's fancy, for it was the only thing that would persuade Maurepas to give his approval; that was all he gave, for the Paris authorities firmly refused to grant Vérendrye any money to support the very considerable cost of these expeditions. Vérendrye spent all his own money, he borrowed from Montreal merchants until his credit was exhausted, and he saw that the only way he could count on getting a real supply of money was by taking an active part in the fur trade. He and his sons gradually set up a line of forts all the way from Fort St. Pierre on Rainy Lake to Fort Paskoiac on the Saskatchewan. This was in reality far more important than finding the River of the West, for it was to these posts that the Indians brought their furs, which hitherto they had taken down to the English on Hudson's Bay. The Hudson's Bay Trade was not destroyed, but the choicest furs henceforth went to the French, though at lower prices. The Indians were satisfied, for they no longer had to make the long and arduous journey to Hudson's Bay; the French now bought their furs on their very doorsteps. The Montreal merchants were delighted, for they were getting the best furs at reasonable prices. But Maurepas was furious, charging Vérendrye with making unnecessary delays in hunting for the River of the West in order to fill his pockets with the profits of the fur trade; fortunately Vérendrye had a firm friend in Beauharnois, the governor at Quebec, who again and again stood between him and the indignant minister of marine. Moreover there would have been few furs for trade, and little security for the French, unless the Indian tribes kept the peace, and Vérendrye had very considerable success in persuading them to abandon their war parties in favor of hunting and trading. These two achievements were of far more real importance than his search for the Western Sea. Mr. Crouse relies almost entirely on printed materials, the greater part of which, fortunately for him, have been gathered together in a Champlain Society volume, *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Vérendrye and His Sons;* but this is not so fortunate for the reader, for the journals are largely reports to Maurepas while the letters are often complaints from Maurepas and explanations by Vérendrye as to why he had not moved west more rapidly. As a result Mr. Crouse is almost forced to devote a good deal of his book to discussions of the available routes; as Vérendrye was not a very skillful mapmaker, and in addition rarely used the compass that he carried with him, the biography at times reads like a geographical exercise, though the six most controversial matters are wisely relegated

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to appendixes. The effect of this is that the romance of Vérendrye's long and patient efforts gets squeezed out of the narrative. This is probably the most serious criticism of Mr. Crouse's work, for in other respects it is accurate and well planned.

E. R. ADAIR, *Austin, Texas*

THE FUR HUNTERS OF THE FAR WEST. By *Alexander Ross.* Edited by *Kenneth A. Spaulding.* [American Exploration and Travel Series, No. 20.] (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1956, pp. xxiii, 304, $5.00.) Reprinting an old favorite is a commendable offering for a press to make to historical scholarship. In this instance the publishing house is the University of Oklahoma Press and the volume is a beautiful new edition of Alexander Ross's second work on his life as an Astorian, Nor'wester, and Hudson's Bay Company factor in the Oregon country. The first edition appeared in two volumes in London in 1855. Instead of using the text of the first edition, however, the editor has gone to the original Ross manuscript, now a part of the Coe Collection in the Yale University Library. Not all of the first edition, however, has been reproduced, and that fact seems unfortunate. To be sure, the portion relating to the Far West has been published, but an equally valuable section has been omitted. Ross left the Oregon country in 1825 in company with George (later Sir George) Simpson, and traveled via Jasper, Carlton, and Cumberland houses and Fort Edmonton of the Hudson's Bay Company's establishments to Norway House on his journey to the Red River settlements. There he took up his residence and wrote his books. To many readers and scholars the details of his eastward trip at such an early date and in the company of a man soon to be the guiding spirit of Hudson's Bay Company activity in North America would be of equal value with the earlier part of his story. As for differences between the first edition and the manuscript, the reviewer finds only minor ones. The editor of the London volumes changed words and phrases occasionally, deleted personal opinions in a few instances, and added connecting sentences when the manuscript might leave the reader confused, but in general he published the document with surprisingly few emendations. Actually he seems more at home in the details of the fur trade of Canada and the Northwest than the editor of the new edition is. The latter's remarks, especially his generalizations in his introductory remarks, are not calculated to increase his stature among historians of the subject. On the other hand, historians will be extremely grateful to him for reproducing Henry James Warre's drawings. Are we to understand from the credit lines ("Courtesy Yale University Library"), that original Warre drawings—distinct, that is, from those in the American Antiquarian Society—are owned by the New Haven institution? The whole matter of Warre's original drawings and water colors, as well as their published forms in at least two editions of his works, needs clarification. Unfortunately, Mr. Spaulding has not helped us by throwing light on this complicated subject. The format of the book is beyond reproach and adds luster to the reputation of the University of Oklahoma Press and its "American Exploration and Travel Series."

GRACE LEE NUTE, *Hamline University*

ON THE ARKANSAS ROUTE TO CALIFORNIA IN 1849: THE JOURNAL OF ROBERT B. GREEN OF LEWISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA. Edited by *J. Orin Oliphant,* Professor of History, Bucknell University. (Lewisburg, Pa., Bucknell University Press, 1955, pp. ix, 87.) The Green diary describes the journey of a small party of Pennsylvanians who made their way West first by riverboat to Fort Smith, Arkansas, then overland along the Canadian River to Santa Fe, Los Angeles, and to the southern mines country of central California. William H. Chamberlin, of the same party, also wrote a diary, published in the *New Mexico Historical Review* (1945)

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which is somewhat more extensive but not reproduced in its complete form. Green's account is typical in its misspellings, scrambled constructions, and lack of punctuation, but his observations are sufficiently acute, and often earthy, to make them rewarding. The publication is a welcome supplement to those already available describing one of the lesser known routes of the Forty-Niners.

ROBERT G. ATHEARN, *University of Colorado*

THE WEST OF PHILIP ST. GEORGE COOKE, 1809–1895. By *Otis E. Young,* Bradley University, Peoria, Illinois. [Western Frontiersmen Series, V.] (Glendale, Calif., Arthur H. Clark, 1955, pp. 393, $10.00.) Philip St. George Cooke deserves a good biography, and Dr. Young has provided it. Cooke's career is thoroughly woven into the tapestry of the West. For forty-six years, from his graduation at West Point in 1827 to Indian campaigns in the 1870's, his was a notable name in the military history of the frontier. He was with the military escorts of 1829 and 1843 on the Santa Fe Trail, in the Black Hawk War, with the Dragoons under Dodge and Kearny in 1835 and 1845, commanded the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War, conducted Indian campaigns in the fifties, and led cavalry during the Civil War against his son-in-law Jeb Stuart. The writings of Cooke are numerous. His official journals of campaigns, his two books of experiences and adventures, and his volumes on cavalry tactics make him one of the most literate of the men who conquered the western land. Today his writings are prized source materials of history. They are perhaps his greatest contribution. Although Cooke was romantic and ambitious, he was a dependable soldier and a strict disciplinarian. He won the high regard of frontiersmen, Mormons, and Mexicans, and the respect of Texans. Dr. Young gives a balanced treatment of the controversial Snivley Affair, in which Cooke disarmed a group of Texan freebooters on the Santa Fe Trail. He traces the notable Mormon Battalion march from Santa Fe to San Diego, breaking a southern route to California. At its termination Captain Cooke's "Order Number 1" congratulated his battalion on its "march of over two thousand miles. History may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry" (p. 222). In California Cooke was able to give Kearny the support he needed in the controversy with Fremont. In Cooke and the battalion "Kearny now held an extremely high card, for under his hand was a battalion of men who feared neither Californians nor trappers, obeying only God, Brigham Young, and Philip St. George Cooke" (p. 229). In the "Utah Expedition" of 1858–1859, Cooke pushed his dragoons on a winter march over the high plains and the Rockies to support Albert Sidney Johnston. Upon arrival at Fort Bridger he reported, "I had one hundred and forty-four horses and have lost one hundred and thirty-four" (p. 303). Despite the little aid he brought to Johnston, Cooke received a special commendation from General Winfield Scott and was presently awarded a colonelcy. The book is good history and also is well written. The publishers have given us another example of their high quality book production.

LEROY R. HAFEN, *Brigham Young University*

THE NAVAJOS. By *Ruth M. Underhill.* [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Volume XLIII.] (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1956, pp. xvi, 299, $4.50.) Every student of the American Indian is indebted to Miss Underhill for a most interesting study of the Navajo. Although the entire course of Navajo history is given consideration, the period from the Mexican War to the present is described in greater detail. The reviewer feels that this is as it should be; the People (as the Navajos refer to themselves) more and more are looking toward the future. Three points deserve particular mention. In most books on the Southwest, General Carleton is pictured as a harsh, ruthless man who preferred dead Indians to live ones. Miss Underhill calls

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him "an idealist among conquerors" (p. 127) and does much to substantiate her view. "Sweet Carletonia," as the Bosque Redondo reservation was called, may have been a nightmare for the Navajos, but Carleton worked hard to make the best of atrocious conditions. This is a new view on an interesting episode. The chapter upon education gives a vivid picture of the difficulties faced by early teachers and mentions the work of Lieutenant Plummer, agent in 1893–1894. The relations between Plummer and the Indian Rights Association in Philadelphia throw a flood of light on Navajo problems and have not yet been adequately studied. The reforming spirit of John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1934 to 1945, commendable in many ways, overwhelmed the Navajos by attempting to modernize their way of life far too quickly. This point is well taken and deserves the emphasis placed upon it. The Second World War, says the author, finally brought the Navajos into the modern world. Yet they retain a firm hold on the traditions of the past. An excellent bibliography, good maps and illustrations, and a far from complete index conclude a volume that is a must for every student of the Southwest and fine reading for anyone interested in the history of his country. ALBAN W. HOOPES, *Hartwick College*

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# Latin American History

*Rollie E. Poppino*[1]

## GENERAL

HANDBOOK OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES. Number 18, 1952. Prepared in the Hispanic Foundation in the Library of Congress by a number of scholars. *Francisco Aguilera,* Editor; *Phyllis G. Carter,* Assistant Editor. (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1955, pp. x, 324, $8.50.)

EL MANEJO DE ARCHIVOS Y DOCUMENTOS. By *Philip C. Brooks.* (Panama, Gobierno Nacional de la República de Panamá y la Universidad de Panamá, con la cooperación del Instituto de Asuntos Interamericanos, [1955], pp. 213.)

MISIONES ECUATORIANAS EN LOS ARCHIVOS EUROPEOS. By *Fray José Maria Vargas, O.P.* [Misiones americanas en los archivos europeos, IX.] (Mexico, D.F., Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Comisión de Historia, 1956, pp. 192.)

The eighteenth volume of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* maintains the usual high standards that its readers have come to expect. A total of 3,368 items have been annotated and arranged under fifteen broad subjects with geographic and topical subdivisions. The section on statistics for 1952 has been omitted but is promised for the forthcoming issue. The excellent author-subject index employed in the past two volumes, has been further improved by division into two separate units. Because of the time lag between the date of the items listed and publication of the *Handbook,* this volume suffers the same lack of timeliness that has been so frequently criticized in previous issues. Users of the *Handbook* will be pleased to learn, however, that in Volume 19 an attempt will be made to overcome this basic problem by including not only materials published in 1953 but also a selection of 1954 and 1955 items. The editors are to be congratulated on this decision, for in this way the *Handbook* should become even more valuable than it is at present. In 1954 President Remón of Panama requested the Point IV mission in that country to make available the services of a specialist to train Panamanian government employees in the management of archives and documents. Through the co-operation of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs Dr. Philip C. Brooks, chief of the Federal Documents Center at San Francisco, California, was invited to give a course on that subject at the University of Panama. The course, which dealt in detail with the basic principles and practices of modern archivology, is summarized in *El manejo de archivos y documentos.* In *Misiones ecuatorianas en archivos europeos,* number nine in the series on American missions in European archives, the author has briefly indicated the chief interest and extent of research of six Ecuadoran scholars who have studied in Europe since 1885. The principal value of the book lies in its 165-page index of documents reproduced by Padre Enrique Vacas Galindo, O.P., during more than thirty years at the Archivo de Indias in Sevilla and at the Vatican Archives. While the indexed materials bracket the entire colonial period (1493–1819), the great majority deal with the *audiencia* of Quito in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The usefulness of the index is enhanced by the division of the documents into four categories—*patronato, cedularios, eclesiastico,* and *secular.*

ROLLIE E. POPPINO, *Washington, D.C.*

THE SPANISH ARCHIVES OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE OF TEXAS. By *Virginia H. Taylor.* (Austin, Lone Star Press, 1955, pp. viii, 258.) This volume contains a brief history of Spanish and Mexican land grants in Texas, the origin of titles, and the methods of measurement and demarcation. It contains chapters also on similar

[1] Responsible only for the list of articles.

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grants between the Nueces River and the Río Grande and in Chihauhua. The final chapters discuss the difficult problem of settling land title questions in the Republic and State of Texas, and the special disposition of titled lands between the Nueces River and the Río Grande. Since the archives of the latter area were in Mexico, the problem was especially difficult. The Spanish and Mexican land titles, the author points out, are not merely of antiquarian interest, for twenty-six million acres of Texas lands have titles stemming from them. Many current questions involving land titles are settled by reference to the Spanish Archives of the General Land Office. An appendix listing name, date of title, amount of land, colony or commissioner, and present location where known, fills more than one hundred pages. This book should prove useful to anyone interested in land distribution and ownership, in either Latin America or the United States. For Latin Americanists, who have become increasingly aware of the significance of land ownership, Miss Taylor's efforts will be particularly helpful. DONALD E. WORCESTER, *University of Florida*

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1938. In five volumes. Volume V, THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS. [Department of State Publication 6297.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1956, pp. v, 995, $4.95.) During the year with which this volume deals a world crisis was fast approaching, yet on the comparatively placid sea of diplomatic relations between the United States and her neighbors, very little of this was visible or apparently anticipated in the published diplomatic documents. The usual problems of an inter-American nature were in evidence: trade agreements and commercial relations (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Haiti, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela); exchange problems and debts (Brazil, Cuba, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Haiti, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Uruguay); expropriations and claims (Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico); sovereignty (Costa Rica, Honduras, Panama); and U. S. military instruction and missions (Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Haiti, Peru). This material occupies pages 272–982 and deals with eighteen of the twenty countries—Paraguay and Guatemala being omitted. Only two sections in this portion of the volume deal with German relations: pages 382–96 are concerned with a Brazilian-German commercial agreement and pages 408–20 deal with the co-operation of the United States in checking Nazi activities in Brazil. The first portion of the book (pp. 1–271) is taken up with general topics: the Eighth International Conference of American States at Lima, December 9–27, 1938; the Chaco dispute and Peace Conference; an attempt of the United States, Cuba, and Mexico to settle the dispute between Haiti and the Dominican Republic; the controversy between Guatemala and the United Kingdom; and boundary disputes between Argentina and Chile, Ecuador and Peru, and Honduras and Nicaragua. In all of this correspondence there appears to be little new now disclosed for the first time. Pan American diplomacy in this period has already been pretty well spread on the pages of history, and the record is only buttressed by places, figures, names, and dates. Like so many state papers, the cold facts of diplomacy here leave the reader himself cold. A. CURTIS WILGUS, *University of Florida*

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## COLONIAL PERIOD

THE MISSIONS OF NEW MEXICO, 1776: A DESCRIPTION BY FRAY FRANCISCO ATANASIO DOMINGUEZ, WITH OTHER CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS. Translated and annotated by *Eleanor B. Adams* and *Fray Angelico Chavez.* (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1956, pp. xxi, 387, $15.00.) The leading document in this collection is the report of a canonical visitation conducted by Domínguez as an emissary of the Franciscan Province of the Santo Evangelio in Mexico. A remarkable feature of the report is the extraordinarily vivid picture it conjures up of the individual missions. There is a wealth of minutiae, including illuminating data on mission administration and finance. Very little of this is critical. The reason undoubtedly is that this was the formal report of an investigation which the visitor had been enjoined to carry out in a "prudent and pacific" manner so as not to stir up difficulties. That there were conditions at some of the missions that disturbed Domínguez is indicated in his subsequent letters, ten of which are included in this volume. These improprieties were chiefly financial, and a sheaf of documents provided in the appendix helps make their nature clear. Taken together, the reports, letters, and documents yield a fairly well-rounded and satisfying view of the missions and their difficulties. The three letters of Escalante which follow throw light on the explorations he and Domínguez carried out in the fall and winter of 1776. These letters form a useful supplement to the late Professor Bolton's *Pageant in the Wilderness.* They will also serve to rectify an injustice by restoring to Domínguez the honor he rightfully shares with Father Escalante for the skill and courage that contributed to the success of their joint expedition. The translators and publishers of these documents likewise deserve their full meed of praise for the exact scholarship

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and general sumptuousness of this volume. The rich notes, full appendixes, and comprehensive index are noteworthy. Also deserving of mention are the frontispiece, the attractive line drawings, and the set of eighteenth-century maps with which the book is enriched. EDWIN A. BEILHARZ, *University of Santa Clara*

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# Historical News

## American Historical Association

After fifteen years in the Library of Congress Annex, the American Historical Association headquarters, and the *American Historical Review,* will move about October 1, or when remodeling is finished, to 400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D.C., one short block behind the Annex. The new house will provide badly needed space, if not the view. Members of the Association are cordially invited to visit.

Miss Patty Washington retired on July 1 after forty-eight years of devoted service to the Association. As Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, she is known to thousands of historians through countless conversations and letters with them. These historians and the Association owe her a deep debt of gratitude and regret that she has gone on inactive duty. She will, we hope, be one of us for many years. Miss Rita K. Shea is her successor in the Association office.

The Service Center for Teachers of History, a service of the American Historical Association, began operation in July and is located at 400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D.C. The director is George Barr Carson, Jr., formerly a member of the department of history at the University of Chicago and editor of the *Journal of Modern History*. The Service Center has undertaken the publication of a series of pamphlets to provide summaries of research and annotated lists for the use of secondary school teachers. The director will also promote meetings for discussion between professional historians and school administrators and teachers on materials to aid the teachers of history in the schools. Inquiries should be addressed to the Center.

The American Historical Association has received a grant of $96,000 from the Ford Foundation to enable the Association, in co-operation with the British Academy, the Mediaeval Academy of America, and the Royal Historical Society, to revise and complete a planned series of British bibliographies. The co-operation on the British bibliographies, begun in 1910, has continued through the years. The grant will enable a new bibliography of medieval British history, a revised edition of Conyers Read's *The Tudor Period,* a revised or new edition of Godfrey Davies' *The Stuart Period,* two new bibliographies, 1789–1900, and assistance to the *Writings on British History, 1901–1933*. Completion of the project will probably take up to ten years, though several volumes are expected to appear much before this. The British-American committee in charge consists of Miss Helen Cam for the Royal Historical Society, Professor W. E. Lunt for the Mediaeval Academy of America, Professor T. F. T. Plucknett for the British Academy, and Dr. Stanley Pargellis for the American Historical Association.



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The Ford Foundation has granted $69,000 to the American Historical Association to help finance the initial work on a project to film and edit German documents. The project has been organized by the American Committee for the Study of War Documents, whose executive board is a committee of the Association. The grant is to be applied in large part to preparing microfilms of historically important documents, such as files in England of the German Foreign Office from 1867 to 1919 and significant materials under the administration of the U.S. Department of the Army which concern the Nazi Reich and German operations in World War II. The committee also plans to publish a guide to available documentary material for this period in the United States and abroad, and to research already done or currently in progress concerning this period and field. The committee, whose executive secretary is Sidney Wallach, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, is composed of Reginald H. Phelps, Harvard, chairman; Guy Stanton Ford, Washington, D.C., honorary chairman; Hans Kohn, City College of New York, associate chairman; Harold D. Lasswell, Yale; Lynn Case, University of Pennsylvania; Oron J. Hale, University of Virginia; George W. F. Hallgarten, Washington, D.C.; Koppel Pinson, Queens College; William O. Shanahan, Notre Dame University; Raymond J. Sontag, University of California, Berkeley; and Boyd C. Shafer (ex officio).

Copies of the 1955 *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at Colleges and Universities in the United States* are still available from the office of the Association. The price per copy is $1.50.

## Other Historical Activities

The personal papers of several American military leaders and of a cabinet member have been received by the Library of Congress. Among them are the papers, about 21,000 pieces, of General Hoyt S. Vandenberg (1899–1954), Air Force Chief of Staff during five critical years of the cold war. The papers were given by Mrs. Vandenberg; when they are organized, they may be consulted only by special permission, to be requested through the chief of the Manuscripts Division.

Other military collections of interest are the papers of two generals who served in World War I: George Van Horn Moseley and Charles P. Summerall (1867–1953). General Moseley recently added the main bulk of his papers, totaling about 20,000 pieces, to a small collection received in 1954. Included in the group, which covers a long and active career (1889–1954) are war diaries and notes, a series of bound scrapbooks of selected papers, many military reports and subject material, correspondence, scrapbooks of clippings, and much printed material. Permission to use the papers should be requested through the chief of the Manuscripts Division. The papers of General Summerall were given by his son, Col. Charles P. Summerall, Jr. They consist of about 10,000 pieces and include correspondence for

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most of Summerall's official career; brief notebooks (1924–29); military orders, reports, and maps; memorandums and notes on many conferences while Chief of Staff; notes, sketches, and other data on the 1st Division; and a large number of speeches and addresses.

Smaller in size and somewhat different in interest are the papers—about three hundred items—of Colonel William Cattron Rigby covering the years 1935–42 when he was retained as counsel for the government of Puerto Rico. In addition to correspondence, Colonel Rigby has given materials relating to Puerto Rican Hurricane Relief, 1934–35; a survey of the Grand Jury System there, 1937–39; and the organization of the United States Housing Authority in Puerto Rico, 1937–42.

The papers of James J. Davis (1873–1945), Secretary of Labor for Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, and senator from Pennsylvania, have been given by his children. Numbering some 13,000 items, they cover all phases of his career, the greater part dealing with the period he was in the cabinet (1921–30) and in the Senate (1931-45).

The May, 1956, issue of the *Library of Congress Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions* contains a comprehensive report of other materials added to the holdings of the Manuscripts Division during the calendar year 1955.

The library of Occidental College, Los Angeles, has recently acquired the F. Ray Risdon Collection of Lincolniana. The collection includes hundreds of books about Lincoln and about other Presidents and American political institutions in general, as well as periodicals and bibliographic memorabilia.

The Eastman Kodak Company has recently compiled an eight-page summary of information available to scholars on microprint cards. The findings are classified by fields, including "history," and indicate sources from which purchases may be made. The pamphlet is entitled "What's Available on Microprint Cards" and may be had without charge on request to the Graphic Reproduction Division, Eastman Kodak Company, Rochester 4, New York.

The International Institute for Social History (Amsterdam) has recently issued the first number of *International Review of Social History*. The new *Review* will be published three times a year, with articles in English, French, and German. Social history is defined by the institute as the history of social groups and classes without regard to country or period. The institute welcomes manuscripts for consideration; these should be sent to Prof. Dr. A. J. C. Rüter, Directeur, Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Keizersgracht 264, Amsterdam-C.

A review of the Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences (Rome, 1955) and preparations for the Eleventh Congress (Stockholm, 1960) and for the intervening General Assembly (Moscow-Leningrad, 1957) of the International Committee of Historical Sciences (ICHS) were principal items on the agenda

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of the ICHS Bureau at its meeting in Madrid on May 26–28, 1956. The ten persons who took part in the meeting were President Federico Chabod, Vice Presidents Sir Charles Webster and Nils Ahnlund, Secretary General Michel François, Treasurer Louis Junod, *membres assesseurs* Mme. A. M. Pankratova and Gerhard Ritter, *membres conseillers* Halvdan Koht and Robert Fawtier, and, substituting for *membre assesseur* Donald C. McKay, who was unable to attend for reasons of health, Arthur P. Whitaker. The following members also were absent for a variety of reasons: I. J. Brugmans, Waldo G. Leland, Hans Nabholz, and Heinrich Schmid.

Discussion of the approaching Stockholm Congress was based upon recommendations on that subject, together with comments on last year's Rome Congress submitted separately by each of the national committees in eighteen of the countries participating in the latter congress. (One of the eighteen was the United States, whose national committee consists of the American Historical Association's Committee on International Historical Activities under the chairmanship of Waldo G. Leland.) These comments and recommendations were presented to the Bureau in the form of a topically organized summary prepared by the secretary general. While many details were left for settlement at the General Assembly in 1957, the following decisions were reached: The Stockholm Congress is to be held in the latter half of August (1960) and is to be of the same duration as the Rome Congress, and of the same general type, though the national committees will be urged to screen program proposals more rigorously and the Bureau will exercise closer control over the program and greater care in the selection of session chairmen and will provide the latter with detailed instructions and briefing. The preparation of the program will be formally initiated in October, 1956, by a circular letter from the secretary general to all the national committees and other ICHS members, and to certain individual scholars, inviting them to submit detailed proposals for consideration at the General Assembly in 1957.

It was decided that this General Assembly should be held in June, preferably June 14–18, and that it should divide its time about equally between Moscow and Leningrad. The member from the Soviet Union, Mme. Pankratova, announced that her government will pay the living expenses (*frais de séjour*) of all the delegates and also the cost of their transportation between Moscow and Leningrad. It was estimated that the total number of delegates will come close to one hundred.

Among the actions of the Bureau on other subjects one of the most important was the policy decision to develop the role of the national committees in the ICHS and to prevent the proliferation of its other members, such as affiliated international organizations, and maintain a close oversight over their activities by the Bureau. Steps were taken to encourage the broadening of the base of one such organization, in the field of Renaissance studies, which had already been admitted at the Rome Congress.

The treasurer's report showed a normally healthy condition, though additional

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funds are urgently needed for an expansion of ICHS activities. Proposals for an increase of dues were rejected on policy grounds, and one for an increase in International Congress registration fees was favorably received but referred to the next General Assembly for action. As regards ICHS publications, it was decided to continue the *Bibliographie internationale des sciences historiques* despite its relatively high cost, and, as an alternative to the proposed founding of a *Revue internationale d'histoire,* to expand the present periodical, *Bulletin d'information.* Among organizational matters, one that was discussed at length was the filling of the new Bureau seat created at the Rome Congress, but final action on this question rests with the General Assembly.

The Bureau's Spanish hosts provided excellent quarters for its meetings at the Consejo de Investigaciones Superiores, Calle Serrano 117. Entertainments included receptions by the Real Academia de la Historia and Sra. Doña Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, and visits to the Palacio Real and the Escorial, at which latter place the members were honored with a luncheon given by the Diputación Provincial de Madrid. This hospitality helped to make their stay in Madrid a pleasant one for the members despite the weather, which was cold and wet. From a business point of view, too, the meeting was a decided success, thanks largely to careful preparation by Secretary General François and to the skill of the chairman, President Chabod.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

As the above report indicates, the Stockholm Congress of 1960 will once more have a series of "Reports" as one of the central elements in its program. These will, as before, be published and will be distributed to the delegates some months in advance of the Congress. They are to deal with subjects of large historical interest; will, in numerous cases, it is hoped, cut across conventional historical fields; and will deal preferably with problems of interpretation. They are not in any case to be merely bibliographical. The general nature of the reports is indicated in the selected list included in the report on the Rome Congress of 1955 (*AHR,* January, 1956, pp. 504–11). Interested members of the American Historical Association are urged to suggest suitable subjects for reports for the Congress of 1960 and the names of historians in the United States or abroad who are particularly suited to prepare such reports. The reports are in every case to be the responsibility of a single *rapporteur,* although the team principle is not excluded and may be particularly useful if such a group is present in one university or in one community. Suggestions should be sent to Donald C. McKay, 100 Woodside Avenue, Amherst, Massachusetts, not later than January 1, 1957, and will be considered at a February meeting of the Committee on International Historical Activities, previous to being forwarded, for final action, to the Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, which meets in June, 1957, in Moscow.

DONALD C. MCKAY

Sponsored by the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich, an International

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Conference on Contemporary History was held at Tutzing and Munich, May 22–25. Despite its general title, it was largely devoted to the history of the Third Reich. Of the approximately fifty participants more than half were German; the rest included French, Italians, Swiss, Austrians, British, Dutch, Scandinavians, and Americans. The three representatives from the United States were Chester Easum of the University of Wisconsin (at present the U.S. cultural attaché in Bonn), C. G. Haines of the Johns Hopkins Bologna Center, and Franklin L. Ford of Harvard. Among the papers read at the meeting were: "The European Democrats between the World Wars," by Professor Eschenburg of Tübingen; "The Army in the Totalitarian State," by Professor Castellan of the Institut d'études politiques, Paris; "The European States and the Rise of the Third Reich," by Professor Anchieri of Padua; "The Myth of Franco-German Collaboration," by James Joll of Oxford; "Collaboration and Resistance," by Dr. L. de Jong of Amsterdam; and "Self-Awareness in Our Age," by Professor Litt of Bonn.

A British Association for American Studies was formed in 1955, for the purpose of "the encouragement of study and research in the history, institutions, literature and geography of the United States. Among other means to this end the Association may concern itself with the holding of conferences; the periodical publication of papers; the establishment of a centre of record for research materials in the United Kingdom, including microfilm; and the investigation and encouragement of the means of travel and study for British scholars in the United States." Further information may be had from the secretary, Mr. Marcus Cunliffe, Department of American Studies, University of Manchester, Manchester 13, England.

At the May, 1956, meeting of the Pacific Northwest History Conference in Tacoma a new organization, the Council on Regional Historical Research in Progress, was created. Consisting of thirty-one members from teaching, library, and nonacademic fields, the council proposes to stimulate and encourage active research in Pacific Northwest history. Those interested in Pacific Northwest history who live outside the region may request information from the council chairman, George Frykman, Washington State College, or the council secretary-treasurer, Siegfried B. Rolland, Department of History, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho.

The spring Upper Midwest History Conference was held at St. John's University on May 5. Reverend Vincent Tegeder, O.S.B., presided and Professor A. C. Krey, now of the University of Texas, read a paper entitled "Monte Cassino, Metten, and Minnesota Revisited."

A European history breakfast conference will be held during the annual convention of the Southern Historical Association, Durham, North Carolina, November 15, 1956. Teachers of ancient, medieval, modern European, or English

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history in southern institutions, as well as graduate students in these fields, are invited to attend. P. H. Hardacre, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, is making the arrangements.

In addition to conducting competitions for Fulbright awards, the Committee on International Exchange of Persons of the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils (2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington 25, D.C.) recommends candidates to the Department of State for lecturing abroad under the Smith-Mundt Act. In this connection the committee is compiling a register of professors interested in overseas lecturing appointments. Such persons are asked to complete data sheets providing information on their academic training, teaching experience, publications, preference as to countries, probable periods of availability, and ability to lecture in foreign languages. The register serves as a primary source of candidates not only for Smith-Mundt grants but for any Fulbright awards not filled from the open competition. Early in the autumn of 1956 the Conference Board Committee plans to invite members of the American Historical Association who are interested in lecturing abroad, either in 1957–1958 or at some later date, to complete a data sheet. In considering whether or not to register, one should keep in mind that the requests from abroad vary greatly. Some of the major universities of western Europe desire candidates who have attained wide reputation as research scholars; elsewhere, the need may be for the talented teacher rather than for the research specialist. For some openings, young instructors are preferred to more experienced scholars. Qualities of personal adaptability are often more important, assuming sound academic preparation, than an impressive record of publication. Ability to lecture in a foreign language is sometimes a requirement, although in many countries lectures may be given in English. Exceptions are Germany (except at the Amerika Instituts), Austria, France, Italy, Spain, and most of the Latin-American republics. Historians are urged to consider registering with the committee when they receive the data sheets.

The U. S. Civil Service Commission has announced an examination for historians to fill positions in various federal agencies in the Washington, D.C., area. Positions overseas may also be filled. The following optional fields are included in this examination: National Defense, Agriculture, Diplomatic, National Park, Museum, and General. No written test is required. To qualify, applicants must have had appropriate experience including specialized experience in one of the optional fields. Appropriate college study may be substituted for part of the experience, and experience in teaching college-level courses in the social sciences or the humanities will be accepted as professional experience in these fields. Applications will be accepted until further notice and must be filed with the U. S. Civil Service Commission, Washington 25, D.C. Further information and application forms may be obtained from many post offices throughout the country or from the Commission in Washington.

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The Social Science Research Council has awarded fellowships to the following historians: *Faculty Research Fellowships*: Donald C. Cutter, University of Southern California, research on the influence and legal status of the North American Indian in white society; Charles R. Ritcheson, Kenyon College, research on Anglo-American relations and political thought following the American Revolution. *Research Training Fellowships*: Peter J. Coleman, assistant professor, Park College, research on mercantilism in the thirteen original states, 1776–1860; Henry E. Friedlander, Ph.D. candidate, University of Pennsylvania, research in Germany on the structure and practices of a Marxian labor party; Martin J. Havran, Ph.D. candidate, Western Reserve University, research in Britain on the position of Roman Catholics in the reign of Charles I; George P. Rawick, Ph.D. candidate, University of Wisconsin, postdoctoral fellowship for training in sociology and related disciplines, in preparation for research on the history of race relations; Morton Rothstein, Ph.D. candidate, Cornell University, further study in economics and research in England on the history of the British-American wheat trade; Robert H. Wiebe, Ph.D. candidate, University of Rochester, research on the response of American businessmen to the national progressive movement, 1901–1912. *Grants-in-aid*: Viola F. Barnes, Mount Holyoke College, research in the United States on British colonial policy in the American Revolution; Stephen B. Baxter, Dartmouth College, research in England on parliamentary corruption, 1660–1702; Thomas C. Bryan, North Georgia College, research on the history of gold mining in Georgia; Robert J. C. Butow, Princeton University, research in Japan on General Hideki Tojo and the role of the Japanese military in affairs of state, 1868–1945; Berlin B. Chapman, Oklahoma A. and M. College, a case study in the land history of the Otoe and Missouria Indians; Andreas Dorpalen, St. Lawrence University, research in the United States on German civilian attitudes toward the Reichswehr in the Weimar Republic; Richard W. Emery, Queens College, research in the United States on commerce, industry, and finance in Perpignan, France, 1250–1400; Norbert J. Gossman, University of Detroit, research in the United States on republicanism in Victorian England; W. Turrentine Jackson, University of California, Davis, research in the United States on the British contribution to the development of mining in western North America, 1850–1900; Henry S. Lucas, University of Washington, research in France on the role of the House of Avesnes (Hainault) in European history, 1204–1339; Charles F. Mullett, University of Missouri, research in the United States on the idea of history in the English Enlightenment; John H. Mundy, Barnard College, research in the United States on the social and constitutional history of Toulouse in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries; Michael R. Powicke, University of Toronto, research in England on conscription and liberty in medieval Britain; Ronald V. Sires, Whitman College, research in the United States on the background of policies of the Liberal party in England, 1906–1914; John L. Snell, Tulane University, research in Europe on the origins of the Weimar Republic and the antecedents of the German Revolution of 1918; Bernard A. Weisberger,

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Wayne University, research on the careers of successful American revivalists; Reynold M. Wik, Mills College, research in Europe on the influence of Henry Ford among European farmers; James H. Young, Emory University, research on the social history of patent medicines in the United States. *Grants for research on history of American military policy*: Louis Morton, deputy chief historian, Department of the Army, research on naval war plans, 1919–1938; Raymond G. O'Connor, Stanford University, research on the relation of the United States to the London Naval Conference of 1930; Sidney Ratner, Rutgers University, research on the economic history and civil-military relations of Germany, Great Britain, Russia, Japan, and the United States during World War II; William H. Riker, Lawrence College, research on measures of performance by American states of their Constitutional duties concerning the militia; Dale O. Smith, U. S. Air Force, research on civil-military relations in the United States with respect to aviation, 1903–1939; George K. Tanham, RAND Corporation, research on the co-ordination of plans and policies of the War and Navy Departments, 1898–1917. *Grants for Slavic and East European studies*: Arthur E. Adams, Michigan State University, research in the United States on the Soviet Civil War on the Ukrainian front, 1918–1921; Michael B. Petrovich, University of Wisconsin, research in the United States on modern South Slavic historiography; Boleslaw Szczesniak, University of Notre Dame, research on the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches during the Bolshevik Revolution; Wayne S. Vucinich, Stanford University, research in Europe on the foreign relations of Serbia, 1908–1914.

The Ford Foundation recently awarded 154 fellowships for training in foreign and international affairs. Most of the fellowships are intended to help increase the corps of Americans with expert knowledge of Asia, the Near East, Africa, the Soviet Union, and eastern Europe. They provide for graduate work in one of the social sciences or humanities with special reference to these foreign areas. This is the first year for the international relations fellowships. It is the fifth year the Foundation has granted fellowships for foreign-area training, and one third of this year's grants went to Fellows of previous years whose performance has been outstanding. Among the recipients are the following students and teachers in history: *International Relations Training Fellows*: John A. DeNovo, associate professor, Pennsylvania State University; Lewis J. Edinger, assistant professor, Air University; David C. Elliot, associate professor, California Institute of Technology; Walter F. Vella, research associate, Cornell University. *Asian and Near Eastern Training Fellows*: Jackson H. Bailey, graduate student, Harvard University; George M. Beckmann, associate professor, University of Kansas; Sidney D. Brown, assistant professor, Oklahoma A. and M. College; Richard L. Chambers, graduate student, Princeton University; Francis P. Corrigan, Jr., graduate student, Columbia University; James B. Crowley, graduate student, University of Michigan; Scott R. deKins, graduate student, Stanford University; Martin B. Dickson, graduate student, University of Tehran, Iran; James T. Force, graduate

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student, Columbia University; Jerome B. Grieder, graduate student, Harvard University; John W. Israel, graduate student, Harvard University; Norman Itzkowitz, graduate student, Princeton University; Harold L. Kahn, graduate student, Harvard University; Marlene J. Mayo, graduate student, Columbia University; Martin Polstein, graduate student, Columbia University; Conrad Roger, graduate student, Harvard University; James Sheridan, graduate student, University of California, Berkeley; John M. Smith, Jr., graduate student, Columbia University; Burton Stein, instructor, Indiana University; Philip H. Stoddard, student, Ankara University, Turkey; Edgar B. Wickberg, graduate student, University of California, Berkeley. *African Studies Fellowship Grant*: Robert O. Collins, graduate student, Balliol College, Oxford. *Soviet and East European Training Fellows*: James M. Ealum, graduate student, Harvard University; Alan P. Gartner, undergraduate, Antioch College; Sidney Heitman, assistant professor, Colorado A. and M. College; Josephine A. Hopkins, undergraduate, Smith College; Jacob B. Hoptner, graduate student, Columbia University; Marian A. Low, graduate student, Radcliffe College; Donald M. Lowe, graduate student, University of California, Berkeley; Robert McNeal, instructor, Princeton University; George F. Putnam, graduate student, Harvard University; James A. Rogers, graduate student, Harvard University; Alfred E. Senn, graduate student, Columbia University; Joseph P. Sherman, graduate student, Michigan State University; Peter F. Sugar, graduate student, Princeton University; James J. Zatko, graduate student, University of Notre Dame.

Grants-in-aid announced for 1956–1957 by the Henry E. Huntington Library include: John A. Hawgood, University of Birmingham, the relations of Mexico and the European powers during the 1830's and '40's; Merrill Jensen, University of Wisconsin, the history of the American Revolution, 1763–1789; and T. C. Mendenhall, Yale University, an edition of the letters of J. F. Schlezer. Paul W. Gates of Cornell University has received a fellowship for "The Struggle for Land: An Agricultural History of the United States, 1815–1860."

The James V. Forrestal Fellowship in Naval History of the United States Naval Academy has been awarded to Marshall Smelser of the University of Notre Dame for 1956–1957. He will study the thinking of the Federalist leadership on the value of sea power to the United States, 1787–1798.

Willard A. Smith of the University of Toledo has been given a grant by the Spanish government to enable him to go to Spain to do research toward a study of the regime of Primo de Rivera.

Among the twelve retired professors appointed by the John Hay Whitney Foundation to the Whitney Visiting Professors Program for 1956–1957 are Arthur C. Cole, Brooklyn College, who is serving at C. W. Post College, Greenvale, New York, and Richard A. Newhall, Williams College, who is at Colby College, Waterville, Maine.

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In the eight years 1948–1955, universities in the United States awarded 2,257 doctorates in history. In 1954, 355 were awarded and in 1955, 310.

## Personal

### Appointments and Staff Changes[1]

*University of Akron*: Clara G. Roe named chairman of department; George Knepper promoted to assistant professor. *University of Alabama*: Frank L. Owsley, Hugo Friedman professor of history, awarded a Fulbright Fellowship at the University of Cambridge for 1956–57, Bernerd C. Weber a Fulbright research grant to study at the Royal University of Malta on the Knights of Malta in the sixteenth century; O. C. Skipper of the Mississippi State College for Women serving as visiting professor and Robert E. Johnson as visiting assistant professor; Joe B. Ezell appointed instructor. Charles G. Summersell, chairman of the department, elected president of the Alabama Historical Association. *Antioch College*: William Landeen, professor emeritus of Washington State College, appointed visiting professor for the year; Roger L. Williams, formerly of Michigan State, appointed assistant professor; Irwin Abrams on sabbatical leave in Europe. *Arizona State College* (Tempe): Harold M. Hyman appointed associate professor. *Brooklyn College*: Arthur C. Cole retired as professor and chairman of the department (see *AHR,* July); Irving W. Raymond promoted to professor, Hyman Kublin to associate professor; Abraham Eisenstadt appointed instructor. *University of California* (Berkeley): George H. Guttridge named chairman of the department, succeeding James F. King; William J. Bouwsma, of the University of Illinois, serving as visiting professor for the year. *University of California* (Davis): W. Turrentine Jackson promoted to professor. *Canisius College*: William R. Kenny appointed instructor. *Catawba College* (Salisbury, N.C.): Glenn Weaver appointed associate professor. *University of Chicago*: Hans Rothfels, professor of history, has retired. William T. Hutchinson named Preston and Sterling Morton professor of American history; Leopold Haimson and Stephen N. Hay, both of Harvard, appointed assistant professor and instructor, respectively.

*Clark University*: Robert F. Campbell on leave of absence; Herbert J. Bass appointed instructor for 1956–57. *Coe College* Albert J. Schmidt promoted to associate professor. *University of Colorado*: Robert G. Athearn promoted to professor, Vincent W. Beach, Hal Bridges, and Robert P. Browder to associate professors, and Carl Ubbelohde to assistant professor. James G. Allen on leave for the year to work on a project including a further volume of British Commonwealth editorials and a study of the significance of the reformers in English history of the early nineteenth century. Robert P. Browder on leave to edit two volumes on the Provisional Government at the Hoover Library; Earl Swisher on leave for two

[1] The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations.

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years as director of the Asia Foundation's program in the Far East, with headquarters in Formosa; S. Harrison Thomson on leave during the fall at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton to work on a comparative study of later Latin paleography. *Colorado State College of Education* (Greeley): Thomas Stirton appointed to division of the social studies. *Columbia University*: Henry L. Roberts promoted to professor and appointed director of the Russian Institute; Walter L. Dorn, of Ohio State University, appointed professor of modern European history; John H. Mundy, formerly of Barnard College, appointed associate professor of medieval history and transferred to the graduate division; Peter Gay, previously of the department of public law, transferred to department of history as assistant professor; Richard Lemay appointed lecturer in the School of General Studies; James Shenton and Andrew Whiteside promoted to assistant professors, the former in Columbia College and the latter in the School of General Studies. *Cornell University*: Marc Szeftel promoted to professor. *DePauw University*: George A. Manhart, chairman of the department, has become professor emeritus, but continues part-time teaching; Andrew W. Crandall appointed chairman of the department; Dwight L. Ling promoted to assistant professor; John L. Shover appointed instructor. *Georgia State College* (formerly Atlanta Division, University of Georgia): John A. Alexander named chairman of the department; Henry T. Malone promoted to associate professor; Mae S. Ringold appointed assistant professor and A. Taber Green appointed instructor. *Gettysburg College*: Basil L. Crapster promoted to associate professor. *Hamline University*: Clarence W. Rife has retired with the rank of professor emeritus. *Harpur College, State University of New York* (Endicott): Sidney S. Harcave appointed chairman of the division of social sciences for 1956–59; Robert Neil McLarty appointed assistant professor, and Richard D. Face, instructor. *Harvard University*: H. Stuart Hughes appointed professor, effective July 1, 1957 (he will remain at Stanford University for the current academic year); S. E. Thorne appointed professor of legal history; Benjamin I. Schwartz promoted to associate professor of history and government. *Hofstra College*: Benjamin Nelson, formerly of the University of Minnesota, appointed professor of history and social science and chairman of the department of sociology and co-ordinator of the new experimental integrated social science program. *Hunter College*: Madeleine H. Rice promoted to associate professor. *University of Idaho*: Frederic C. Church, professor and chairman of the department, retired after thirty-five years of service; William S. Greever named chairman of department; Charles A. LeGuin, formerly of Emory University, appointed assistant professor. *University of Illinois*: Frederick C. Dietz retired September 1; J. W. Swain succeeds him as chairman of the department; Bryce Lyon, formerly of Harvard, appointed associate professor; Norman A. Graebner, of Iowa State College, serving as visiting professor for the year; Lucille Shay granted sabbatical leave for research in Italy. *Illinois State Normal University*: Robert G. Bone, formerly professor of history and assistant provost of the University of Illi-

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nois, named president. *Institute of Early American History and Culture* (Williamsburg): Newly elected council members: Wesley Frank Craven, Princeton; Lawrence Henry Gipson, Lehigh; Philip M. Hamer, National Historical Publications Commission; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary; Frederick B. Tolles, Swarthmore College. Walter M. Whitehill, Boston Athenaeum, re-elected to council and to chairmanship of council and of executive committee. Clifford K. Shipton, American Antiquarian Society, elected vice-chairman of council, and John R. Alden secretary. Lawrence W. Towner, formerly associate editor of the *William and Mary Quarterly,* replaces Lester J. Cappon as editor. Michael G. Hall appointed research associate. *University of Kentucky*: Carl Cone and James F. Hopkins promoted to professors. *Library of Congress*: Katharine E. Brand has resigned; Joseph C. Vance, formerly of the Clinch Valley College of the University of Virginia and the Alderman Library, appointed head of the recent manuscripts section of the Manuscripts Division. *Louisiana College* (Pineville): E. Frank Masingill appointed assistant professor.

*Massachusetts State Teachers College* (Bridgewater): Stephanie O. Husek appointed professor. *University of Miami*: Duane Koenig promoted to professor. *University of Michigan*: Palmer A. Throop promoted to professor; John W. Baldwin and Jacob M. Price appointed instructors. *Michigan State University*: Elmer B. Lyon retired after thirty-two years of continuous service; Thomas H. Greer promoted to professor. *University of Minnesota*: Clarke Chambers promoted to associate professor. *Montana State University* Robert T. Turner, chairman of the department, named dean of the College of Arts and Sciences; Oscar J. Hammen succeeds him as chairman. Jules A. Karlin promoted to associate professor; Stephen B. Barnwell and Paul A. Carter appointed assistant professors. *Muhlenberg College*: H. Dunseth Wood promoted to assistant professor. *Nebraska State Historical Society*: William D. Aeschbacher named director. *New York University*: Henry B. Parkes on leave to lecture on American studies under a Fulbright grant at the University of Athens during 1956–57. *Northwestern University*: Leften S. Stavrianos promoted to professor and Roger F. Hackett to assistant professor. *Oberlin College*: Barry McGill promoted to assistant professor. *Ohio State University*: Warner F. Woodring, professor of history, has retired. Robert H. Bremner and Harry L. Coles promoted to associate professors, and Philip P. Poirier and R. Clayton Roberts to assistant professors. *Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College*: Alfred Levin awarded a Fulbright grant and sabbatical leave to go to Finland for research on the Third Imperial Duma; Berlin B. Chapman and Sidney D. Brown on leave, 1956–57; Milton I. Vanger appointed instructor.

*University of Oregon*: Earl S. Pomeroy on sabbatical leave, replaced by Ramon Ruiz as acting assistant professor; Vernon F. Snow promoted to assistant professor and on leave for the year, replaced by Joseph M. Gallanar of Johns Hopkins; Ramsay MacMullen and Gustave Alef appointed instructors. Gordon Wright reappointed as chairman of the department for three years. *Park College* (Mis-

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souri): Howard S. Greenlee, formerly associate dean and professor of history at Southwestern University, appointed dean. *Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission*: Earle W. Newton, formerly editor of *American Heritage,* appointed director of the Bureau of Museums, Historic Sites and Properties. *Pennsylvania State University*: Robert K. Murray promoted to associate professor; H. Trevor Colbourn, Malcolm Freiberg, John E. Pixton, and Edward C. Thaden promoted to assistant professors. *Portland State College* (Oregon): Basil Dmytryshyn appointed assistant professor. *Princeton University*: Hans Rosenberg of Brooklyn College awarded Shreve Fellowship for current academic year. *Rice Institute*: Frank E. Vandiver promoted to associate professor. *Rider College* (Trenton, N. J.): A. Cyrus Warner appointed assistant professor. *University of Rochester*: Glyndon G. Van Deusen, chairman of the department, named Watson professor of history, succeeding Dexter Perkins. *School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University* (Washington, D.C.): Vernon McKay, formerly of the Department of State, appointed professor of African studies. *Smith College*: Lenore O'Boyle, formerly of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, appointed to history staff. *Southern Illinois University*: Harold E. Briggs resigned from chairmanship of the department to devote full time to teaching and research. *Stanford University*: Ernst L. Presseisen appointed instructor for 1956–57. *Syracuse University*: W. Freeman Galpin became professor emeritus in June, 1956, but will continue to be employed in writing a history of the university; A. Robert Schoyen, formerly of the University of Delaware, appointed assistant professor.

*Temple University*: Daniel M. Fisk and Raymond B. Munson both retired in June, 1955; each had served in the department since 1928. John S. Kramer promoted to professor. *Texas Christian University*: G. G. Arnakis, formerly of the University of Texas, appointed professor. *Tufts University*: Ruhl J. Bartlett has discontinued his teaching and chairmanship of the department in the College to devote full time to teaching and research in the Fletcher School of International Law and Diplomacy; Albert H. Imlah appointed chairman of the department and granted sabbatical leave for first semester; Freeland K. Abbott and Russell E. Miller promoted to associate professorships. *Tulane University*: John L. Snell promoted to associate professor; W. Burlie Brown promoted to assistant professor; Charles T. Davis appointed instructor. *University of Virginia*: Thomas T. Hammond on leave for study in France under a Fulbright grant, 1956–57. *University of Washington*: Giovanni Costigan on sabbatical leave in England and Ireland; Charles M. George appointed acting assistant professor and Ralph E. Giesey appointed instructor. *Washington College* (Chestertown, Maryland): William M. Armstrong appointed associate professor and chairman of the department of history and political science. *Westminster College* (Pennsylvania): Delber L. McKee named chairman of the department; James A. Duran, Jr., appointed instructor. *Whittier College*: John A. Schutz promoted to professor; Harry Nerhood

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on sabbatical during 1956–57; C. Herman Nixon appointed visiting professor and Wayne Miller visiting instructor for 1956–57. *Williams College*: Richard A. Newhall has retired as Brown professor of history; Robert C. L. Scott is acting chairman of the department; Charles R. Keller granted leave of absence; Charles Nauert, formerly of Bowdoin, and Orville T. Murphy, formerly of the University of Minnesota, appointed instructors. *Wyoming Historical and Geological Society*: Richmond Dean Williams, formerly of Williams College, appointed director. *Yale University*: George Vernadsky retired in June after twenty-nine years on the faculty; Cushing Strout awarded a Yale Morse Fellowship and leave of absence for research and writing during 1956–57; Dudley W. R. Bahlman, William R. Emerson, Cushing Strout, Ralph T. Fisher, Mario Rodriguez, and Winton U. Solberg promoted to assistant professorships.

## Recent Deaths

Francis Hagar Squire, professor of history, dean of the school of arts and science and dean of the university at the University of Delaware, died suddenly in London on April 26, 1956, at the age of fifty-three. Born in Westfield, Massachusetts, in 1902, he was graduated from Yale in 1925 and received his doctorate there in 1935, with a thesis, written under the direction of Wallace Notestein, on the English country gentleman in the early seventeenth century. In 1927 he joined the faculty of the University of Delaware, where he remained until the year of his death, except for a brief return to Yale in the 1930's and for two and a half years of service in the Naval Aviation Training Command during World War II. He became chairman of the department of history in 1941 and was appointed dean in 1945 upon his release from the Navy. In February, 1956, he went to England on sabbatical leave to continue his studies of the early Stuart period. A brilliant teacher and a wise and sympathetic dean, he was loved by the students he taught and by the colleagues whose burdens he shared.

Robert J. G. McClurkin, an American diplomat assigned to the Imperial War College in England, died May 6 at the age of forty-four. He had been a member of the American Historical Association since 1938.

Hiram Bingham, author, explorer, historian, and public figure, died June 6 at the age of eighty. He had been a life member of the American Historical Association since 1900.

Fletcher Pratt, author of many books on Civil War and American naval history, died June 10 at the age of fifty-nine.

Louis Madelin, historian and member of the Académie Française, died August 20 at the age of eighty-five. Among the works which brought him fame are

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*Fouché* (1901); *La Rome de Napoléon* (1904); his volume on the French Revolution, which won the Gobert Prize of the Académie and was published in 1911 in the "National History of France" series edited by Funck-Brentano; a later volume in the same series, *The Consulate and the Empire; Histoire politique de 1515 à 1804* in the "Histoire de la nation française" series edited by Gabriel Hanotaux; biographies of Danton (1912), Napoleon (1934), and Talleyrand (1944); and two volumes on battles of World War I.

## Communications

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

Professor M. L. W. Laistner's criticisms (*American Historical Review,* LXI [1955–56], 613–14) of the form in which Professor Westermann's *Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity* appeared—more specifically, of the inconsistency in citation and the failure to adjust citations to the list of abbreviations—make it necessary for me to record the grounds for the decision which permitted those inconsistencies to remain in the published edition. This decision was prompted by the fact that, since two thirds of the book was in page proof when the work came to my hands, the alterations required to produce the consistency in question would have involved very great, therefore unjustifiable, expense. Considerable expense and effort were, however, devoted to an attempt to assure clarity of text and citation, and I am pleased to note that Professor Laistner has recognized that the solid merits of the work have in no way been lessened by the external form in which it appeared.

An additional consequence of the necessity to deal with most of the work at the late stage of page proof was that it was impossible then to undertake a thoroughgoing verification of printer's copy—which had been handled by readers, other than myself, of several different categories. Hence, while I did undertake a very considerable amount of verification, and while I made a very considerable number of changes and corrections of misprints (the "Editor's Note," not mine, following the Preface of the book was not added without knowledge), my procedure, in general, was to verify copy only when something seemed suspect. Owing to the demands of this procedure—superimposed upon the normal requirement of close attention—the misprints which Professor Laistner refers to (". . . more particularly, the number of missing accents in Greek quotations or in the titles of French and German books . . ."), I regret to say, were not caught. I can reduce by a little the number of oversights reckoned by Professor Laistner—and, at the same time, illustrate the difficulty in catching certain misprints in connection with the titles of foreign books—by pointing to the justified inference that some of the mistakes he reckoned were in the citation of the fundamental encyclopedia in the field of classical studies where Professor Westermann's *Sklaverei* appeared, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll *et al., Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* for which Professor Laistner has the spelling (p. 613) *Realenzyklopädie*—a spelling not found in the Wissowa edition since its inception in 1894, nor in the original Pauly edition (1839–52).

*Barnard College, Columbia University* John Day

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To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

My withers are unwrung. Mr. Day's first point is that Westermann was responsible, at least in part, for inconsistencies in abbreviation. Why was this fact not made clear in the Editor's Note to the Preface and a statement added that it would have been too costly to make all the necessary changes?

When I wrote my review, an offprint, given me by the author, of Westermann's original article was before me. The second word on the outer cover, which I enclose for your information, is *Realenzyklopädie.* Mr. Day's concluding remarks seem to imply that he is not familiar with the German original. If he were, he would know that the proofreading of that article was impeccably done and that the accents and umlauts are there, all present and correct.

*Cornell University* M. L. W. Laistner

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

Many readers of this journal, including those, like myself, who applaud the more critical tone of recent reviews, will read Alfred Vagts' review of Gordon A. Craig's *The Politics of the Prussian Army, 1640–1945* with regret. The Vagts review is *narrow* (criticism of Craig's preoccupation with the "grosse Politik" of the army), *pedantic* (pointing to mistakes in "the minutiae of noble names and the like" as evidence that "factual errors" in the book "are not rare"), and *unfair* (criticism of Craig for his failure to use Gerhard Ritter's volume on Goerdeler, a book which had not been published when Craig completed his history). Ritter himself regards the Craig study as *Geschichte,* not as a *Geschichtserzählung,* a label which Vagts used disparagingly to describe this volume. Readers of this journal who desire a serious evaluation of the Craig study as history will do well to consult Ritter's own highly competent and critical appreciation in the January, 1956, number of the *Journal of Central European Affairs,* which rightly recognizes it as the product of years of work, an admirable seriousness of purpose, and a depth of thought which is as desirable as it is rare in this age of science, pseudo-science, and new witchcrafts.

*Tulane University* John L. Snell

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

I cannot help thinking Mr. Snell a bit *vorschnell,* precipitate, in his protest against my review of Craig's book, finding in it evidence of "pseudo-science and new witchcrafts." (How my late fatherly friend George Burr, the historian of witchcraft, would have enjoyed having black magic detected in me at last!) There will be better occasions, I trust, to make use of such grand condemnatory epithets than my modest and, as I thought, and still think, appreciative review.

*Sherman, Connecticut* Alfred Vagts

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

In the article entitled "A Survey of United States Historians, 1952," by J. F. Wellemeyer, which appeared in the *American Historical Review,* January, 1956,

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pp. 339–52, the author cited the following statistics: only 326 of the historians actively teaching in colleges and universities were women; 9 per cent of the graduate students and 40 per cent of the retired historians. The median age of women historians was 46, whereas that of men was 40. Women teaching in colleges received a median salary $700 lower than men. "The low percentage of women in the profession may reflect their reluctance to enter it because of discrimination against them in the field."

Foreigners coming to our shores sometimes say that cultural traditions are being kept alive by women's clubs rather than by men. This is a service, but where a woman has the ability to be a prominent historian, why should there be discrimination just because she is a woman? A young man starting on a career wants an even chance to show his ability and to compete for rewards. Women historians ask for the same equality of opportunity. Too many times, they are not even given a chance. How often do heads of departments, asked to recommend young scholars for beginning appointments, give names of promising young women as well as young men? Is there something about history, as compared with political science, languages, or natural sciences, that excludes competence on the basis of sex? There needs to be, first, a revolution in the minds of some men historians and, secondly, the opening of posts to women in men's institutions before women historians will cease to feel discrimination and will enjoy an equal opportunity with men.

*Hunter College* BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

## Assistant Editor's Note

The editor has kindly turned over this space to me for a few suggestions on technical matters. Future contributors to the *Review* will help the printing process enormously if they will heed the following, wherever applicable: (1) Type *all* manuscripts double space, with generous margins. (2) Send us the ribbon copy, use a legible ribbon (better than faintly legible, please), and keep a carbon copy for reference and in case of loss. (3) Type footnotes, double space, on separate sheets at the end of an article. (Don't worry; they will turn up in print at the bottoms of the appropriate pages!) The printer sets footnotes separately, in a smaller size type than the text; he has to read every mark, no matter how insignificant it may seem to you; and, considering the multilingual nature of most of your sources, this is no small feat. Give him a break! Spell out the first, as well as the last, names of the authors you cite, give accurate titles, insert in parentheses the place and date of publication, and the edition if not the first, cite volume numbers in roman numerals, use p. or pp. before page numbers unless preceded by a volume number. Give the depository where a manuscript collection is located and cite manuscripts consistently and in a way that will enable an interested searcher to find them. (4) Try to say what you mean the first time, but, if you must make a correction in galley proof, please do not add or delete a word or

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phrase at the beginning of a long paragraph without compensating for it. Resetting is expensive, and subject to errors.

Now, having admonished you—and only a few are truly guilty—I turn you over, chastened I hope, to my successor, Miss Nancy Hall Kane. By the time you see this, the forty-ninth issue of the *Review* to be subjected to my blue pencil, I shall be coping with new problems as associate editor of the University of Chicago Press. It will be a change and a challenge—but I'll miss you!

CATHARINE SEYBOLD

[EDITOR'S NOTE: And we will miss Miss Seybold.]

## *Announcement*

All communications to the *American Historical Review* and the American Historical Association should be sent to the new address:

**400 A Street, S.E.,**
**Washington 3, D.C.**

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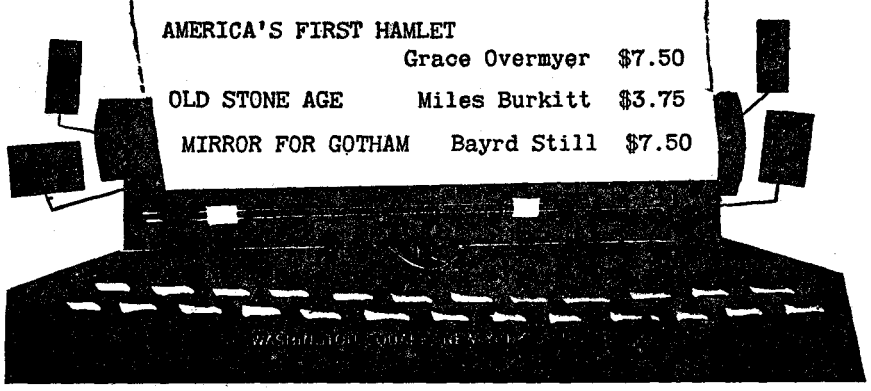
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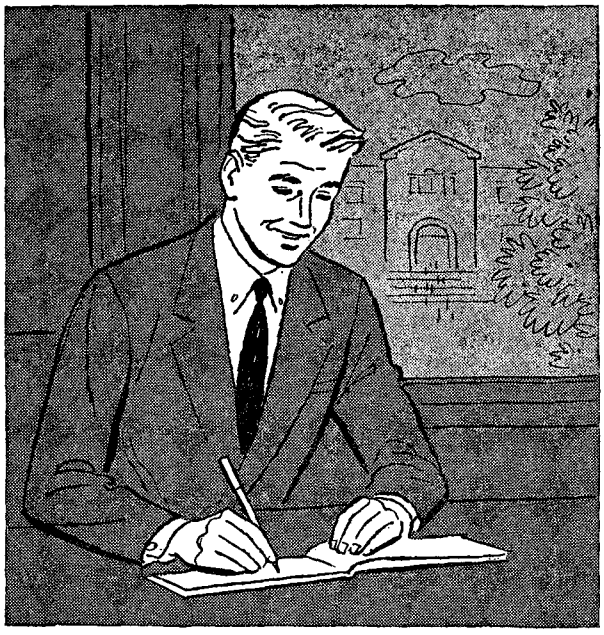
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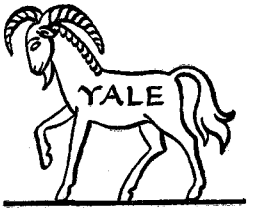
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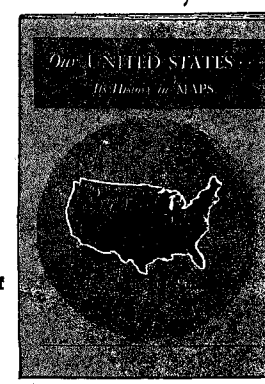
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